

The Review of English Studies

VOL. III.—NO. II.

JULY 1927.

ETYMOLOGIES FOR HAMLET

BY KEMP MALONE

ROSENCRANTZ and Guildenstern long ago began their immortal, if feeble, efforts to pluck out the heart of Hamlet's mystery. And what the actors still seek to do on the boards, the philologist still seeks to do in the closet. His researches sometimes seem no less clumsy and futile than those of Hamlet's false friends, but at any rate he can lay claim to a better motive, and surely he has brought much to light that otherwise would have lain on in darkness. It is not my purpose, however, to review or appraise the achievements of Hamletian philology. In this paper I am concerned, not with a philological but rather with an etymological problem: the origin of Hamlet's name. For the name no less than the man is a thing of mystery; and the solution of the etymological problem, be it added, ought to shed light on certain other matters of fundamental interest to the philologist proper, inasmuch as the name is the key to the origin of the tale.

I have said that Hamlet's is a name of mystery. Its Shakespearian form, none the less, is derivable without difficulty, by way of Belleforest and the lost play, from the *Amlethus* of Saxo, and this form, in turn, is a latinisation of the old Jutish form *Amlethæ*. The Jutish form itself goes back to an earlier **Amlothe*=O. Icel. *Amlóðe* (later *Amlóði*). Our problem, then, becomes that of explaining the common-Scandinavian form *Amlóðe*, the earliest occurrence of which (in some verses of the Icelandic poet Snæbjörn, cited in the *Snorra Edda*) takes us back to the tenth century. Let us see how the various would-be etymologists have dealt with this problem.

I will take up first the etymology proposed by Detter.* In modern Icelandic occurs a common noun *amlóði*, "fool." This is usually explained as got from the proper name, much as our *pander* comes from the name of the well-known character in Chaucer's *Troilus*. But Detter reverses this, deriving Hamlet's name from his conduct. In other words, he argues that the true name of the hero has not come down to us; we have only an epithet expressive of his behaviour and used instead of the true name. This conclusion, of course, even if accepted, only shifts the etymological problem: we have now to account for the common rather than the proper name. Detter attempts to do this. He analyses the noun into *aml-óði*, and cites as parallel formations the Icelandic adjectives *handóða*, "meddlesome," *malóða*, "twattlesome," *steinóði*, "raving mad." He refers the first element to the Icelandic noun *aml*, "routine, bustle, drudgery," with its verb *amla*, "to lounge, loaf; to drudge," and the corresponding Norwegian *amla*, "to wrangle, tease; to work; to drudge." One serious difficulty with Detter's theory is the fact that *amlóði* is a noun, whereas all the other *-óði* or *-óða* compounds are adjectives. As a compound noun *amlóði* stands alone, and it is hard to see how so anomalous a form could have come into being. Moreover, the semantic development is by no means clear. The word means "bungler, duffer, simpleton, good-for-nothing, poor wretch." The primary meaning of the first component seems to be "routine," while the second component means "furious, raging, mad with rage." One does not quite understand how the combination of these elements could give us "duffer, simpleton." Again, while the proper name occurs as early as the tenth century, the common noun from which it is supposed to be derived first puts in its appearance hundreds of years later, and even the component *aml* seems to be strictly modern, although of course one would not venture to deny its existence, *sub rosa*, in mediæval times. Such difficulties vanish at once if we suppose *amlóði* to have come from the proper name *Amlóði*. All in all, Detter's etymology is hardly to be accepted, and in fact has met with little favour in the learned world.

An explanation somewhat like Detter's is that given by Andrews,† who analyses the name as *Aml-þóði*, identifies *aml* with "the Germanic element *Amal-*, which is not infrequent as the first member of personal names," and takes the whole as a "typical compound Old

* Ferd. Detter, in *ZfdA.* xxxvi. (1892), 6 f.; *AfdA.* xxvi. (1900), 275 f.

† A. Le Roy Andrews, in *Philol. Quart.* iii. (1924) 320.

Germanic personal name." Detter too had flirted with the equation *Aml* = *Amal*,* but he did not do anything with it, and this for excellent reasons. In truth, Andrews's theory, which looks so inviting, is thoroughly unsound. His first element *Amal*- is indeed not infrequent in the South, but does not once appear in Scandinavian name-giving, and the same thing may be said of his *-óði* as a name-element (though this latter is used in the North as a by-name). Andrews's proper name *Amlóði* is thus as isolated a phenomenon as is Detter's common noun *amlóði*. I have elsewhere † discussed Andrews's etymology in some detail, and will therefore say no more here.

We now come to another division of our subject. In the year 1892 Whitley Stokes, the Celticist, printed a paper on "The linguistic value of the Irish Annals." In this paper he included a list of "Old-Norse Names" found in the Annals. The entry which concerns us reads as follows :

Amlaidhi, *TF.* 222, Icel. Amlóði. Saxo's Amlethus, Shakspeare's Hamlet.‡

Stokes was, I believe, the first to connect the *Amlaidhe* of the Irish Annals with the Icelandic *Amlóði*. He was followed by Sir Israel Gollancz, who made an extensive investigation and printed his results in 1898, in the Introduction of his volume *Hamlet in Iceland*. This Introduction has recently (1926) been reprinted by the author, with a few minor changes, as a part of a volume on *The Sources of Hamlet* in his series *The Shakespeare Classics*.§ Professor Gollancz adds to Stokes's material, pointing out that the name *Amlaidhe* occurs, not only in the so-called *Three Fragments* (Stokes's *TF.*), but also in another Irish collection of annalistic material, the so-called *Four Masters* (abbreviated *FM.*). In *TF.* the entry is under the year 909. In *FM.* there are two entries, one under the year 904, the other under the year 917. || In each case the annalist quotes the same passage from a poem of lamentation composed by Gormflaith, daughter of Flann Sionna, in memory of her second and third husbands, Cearbhall and Niall Glundubh, who had fallen in battle

* In *ZfdA.* xxxvi. (1892) 7.

† In *Philol. Quart.*, iv. (1925) 158 f.

‡ In Bezenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der idg. Sprachen*, xviii. (1892) 116.

§ In the present paper my bibliographical references will be to Professor Gollancz's *Sources of Hamlet* rather than to his earlier *Hamlet in Iceland*, inasmuch as the more recent work may be deemed to represent his present views.

|| ii. 572 and 596 (2nd ed., J. O'Donovan).

against the Scandinavians. Cearbhall, she tells us, was slain by Ulbh; Niall Glundubh, by Amlaidhe. And Professor Gollancz makes this comment: "The last word, 'Amlaidhe,' is certainly the Irish form of 'Amlóði,' or 'Hamlet.' "*

Was *Amlóðe*, then, the true name of Niall's slayer? The man was undoubtedly a Scandinavian, and hence presumably bore a Scandinavian name. That he bore so strange a name as *Amlóðe*, however, is hard to believe. Jiriczek, at any rate, has quite another explanation to offer. He says:

Der Name [Amlóðe] selbst steht völlig vereinzelt im ganzen nordischen Namenschatz, und ist etymologisch aus dem Nordischen unerklärlich. . . . Da dieser Name [Amlaidhe], wie es scheint, auch aus dem Keltischen nicht befriedigend etymologisierbar ist, dürfte er am ehesten die keltische Umbildung eines nordischen Namens (aber nicht des unnordischen Amlóðe!) sein, die beim abermaligen Uebertritt auf anglo-dänisches Sprachgebiet zu dem völlig undurchsichtigen Amlóðe umgestaltet wurde ($x > \text{Amlaidhe} > \text{Amlóðe}$). Wie stark gerade im keltisch-anglo-dänischen Kreise Namen infolge ihres Durchganges durch verschiedene Sprachgebiete entstellt worden sind, zeigt lehrreich die Umbildung von Anleif zu Havelok (mit keltischen Zwischenstufen).†

In support of these highly important observations I may be permitted, as a Celticist, to point out that it is phonetically impossible to derive the Irish *Amlaidhe* from a Scandinavian *Amlóðe*. So far as I am aware, Stokes is the only Celticist who ever made this derivation, and Stokes, I am sure, would not have done so had he had before him all the facts. The symbol *m* in Irish orthography might represent either of two sharply different sounds. The one was an *m* with closed lips, a sound much like our own *m*. The other was an *m* with somewhat opened lips, the so-called spirant *m*, which may be described as a nasalised *v*. It was customary to indicate the spirant by putting over the symbol the so-called *punctum delens* (though the scribes often neglected to do this), or else by writing *mh*. Now Stokes noted the name *Amlaidhe* in the text *TF.*, where it is written with a simple *m*, and therefore, quite naturally, he derived the name from *Amlóðe*. He failed altogether to note the

* *Sources of Hamlet*, p. 51. In a note on p. 315, he adds, "It may be that according to regular phonetic law, O.N. Amlóði would not become Irish Amlaidhe, but . . . other considerations may have to be taken into account in dealing with proper names. . . . The equivalent forms of names do not always follow normal phonetic laws, and the fact that they do seem to be contrary to these laws often leads to the right solution of origin and history."

† O. L. Jiriczek, in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, xxv. (1914) 479 f.

name in the text *FM*. But in fact the name appears twice in *FM*., and in each case it is spelt in such a way as to mark its *m* as a spirant : in the first entry the *m* has over it the *punctum delens* ; in the second entry, the name is spelt with *mh*. We may conclude with confidence that the absence of the *punctum delens* in the text *TF*. is due merely to a scribal oversight, and that the *m* of *Amlaidhe* stands for a spirant sound. But the *m* of *Amlóde* was a perfectly ordinary *m*, pronounced with closed lips, and the Irish would without question have imitated it by using their own *m* with closed lips. The spirantic quality of the *m* of *Amlaidhe*, then, makes us certain that the name does not go back to a Scandinavian *Amlóde*.

If Stokes's entry in the *Beiträge* marks a turning-point in the history of Hamletian etymology, then Jiriczek's pronouncement in the *Literaturzeitung* marks a second turning-point. Stokes took us to Ireland, and that was a great gain, for Celtic transmission must be assumed for the name no less than for the tale. But Jiriczek was the first to make clear the conditions of our problem. If, instead of deriving *Amlaidhe* from *Amlóde*, we derive *Amlóde* from *Amlaidhe*, then obviously we must seek the original name by using as our starting-point the Irish, not the Icelandic, form. Our problem now becomes that of finding a genuine Scandinavian name which, when put into Irish, would give *Amlaidhe*. We may neglect *Amlóde* for the time being, though we shall have to reckon with that name later. Let us look about us, then, for Scandinavian names that fit.

Here Professor Gollancz has a suggestion to make (for though he nowhere specifically adopts, or even refers to, Jiriczek's point of view, he considers various possibilities). He brings forward, with reservations, the hypothesis "that 'amlaidhe' may perhaps represent the confluence of the characteristic Northern name 'Aleifr' (Anlaf, Olaf), Irish 'Amlaibh,' and some such Celtic word as 'amhaide,' sour, sulky, surly." * The connection will be clearer if we keep in mind that the Scandinavian name in question was known to the Irish in its more primitive form *Anlaifr*, where the *n* was a spirant † and the *f* was pronounced like a *v*. As the Irish possessed

* *Sources of Hamlet*, 54 f.; cf. the Preface of the same work, p. ix., where he speaks of a "transformation" of the name Aleifr.

† The original closure of the oral passage was succeeded by an articulation which became looser and looser, until at last the tongue ceased even to narrow the passage and the nasal, thus become vocalised, was merged with the preceding vowel; the result of the merger was a long nasal vowel, the nasality of which, however, was eventually lost. Hence the forms *Áleifr*, *Óláfr*.

no spirant *n*, they substituted for it their spirant *m*. The *v*-sound in Irish orthography appears as *b* or *bh*. The case-ending *r* was neglected, as regularly when a Scandinavian word is taken into Irish. *Anlaifr*, put into Irish, thus gives *Amlaib* or *Amlaibh*. The name is of frequent occurrence in the Irish records, and this is its regular form. It was one of the Scandinavian names most familiar to the Irish, and hence most likely to be heard and written correctly. And Professor Gollancz is far from denying that the Irish usually got the name right. He will have it, though, that, on one occasion at least, they modified *Amlaibh* to *Amlaidhe*, apparently under the influence of some such Celtic word as *amhaide*. One may conjecture that Professor Gollancz would divide *Amlaidhe* into *Amlai*+*dhe*, deriving the *Amlai* from *Amlaib* and the *dhe* from *amhaide*. Or perhaps he would prefer the division *Aml* + *aidhe*. Now, I will not venture to deny the possibility of some wild Irishman's having committed mayhem on the name *Amlaib*. Anything is possible in Ireland, or so they say. But certainly Professor Gollancz's hypothesis is pretty drastic, even for Ireland. We are asked to believe that somebody made the word *Amlaidhe* by taking *Aml* or *Amlai* from one end of *Amlaib* and adding to it *aide* or *de* from the other end of *amhaide*. In the absence of evidence that so extraordinary a "confluence" took place, one can hardly accept Professor Gollancz's theory as a solution of our problem.

Another attempt to find the Scandinavian original of *Amlaidhe* is that of Marstrander,* who derives the name from the well-known Icelandic name *Haflíði*. There are several objections to this etymology. For one thing, *Haflíði* is a comparatively late name, and one may legitimately doubt whether it existed as early as the beginning of the tenth century. Marstrander admits, indeed, that if the slayer of Niall was a *Haflíði* he is the earliest *Haflíði* on record. Since, however, a Scandinavian chieftain named *Sumarliði* is recorded as having fallen in the Battle of Limerick, A.D. 968,† and since *Haflíði* is a name parallel in formation to *Sumarliði*, one cannot deny the possibility that *Haflíði* was in use as a proper name as early as the year 900 or thereabouts. The phonetic difficulties

* Carl J. S. Marstrander, *Bidrag til det norske Sprogs Historie i Irland*, pp. 47 f. (in the *Skrifter* of the Christiania Videnskabs-Selskab for 1915, Hist.-Philos. Klasse, No. 5).

† *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 78 (ed. J. H. Todd: London, 1867). The name is spelt *Somarlið* in the Irish monument; Stokes (BB. xviii. 120) was the first to identify it with the Icelandic *Sumarliði*.

are more serious—they are decisive, indeed. Put into Irish according to phonetic law, the Icelandic *Haflíði* would appear as **Abhlidhe* or **Abhlidhe*, not as *Amlaidhe*. Let us take up first the Irish representation of the Icelandic *f*; Marstrander himself gives us the rules on p. 160 of his monograph. According to him, the (voiced) *f* is ordinarily represented in Irish by *b*, *bh*, *ph*, *f*; only in the neighbourhood of nasals do we find *m*. But *Haflíði* has no trace of a nasal, needless to say. Hence we should certainly not expect its *f* to be represented by an *m*, as Marstrander, in defiance of his own rules, would have it.* Secondly, Marstrander is certainly wrong in treating the second *a* of *Amlaidhe* as a mere auxiliary sign serving to mark the *l* as not palatal; the *l* of *Haflíði* was assuredly pronounced with *i*-colouring, and this colouring, though perhaps not very strong, would hardly have escaped the ears of the Irish, sensitive as they were (and are) to precisely such nuances as these. In fact, we find the Icelandic *Sumarliði* given as *Somarlid* in Irish (as I have pointed out above), not as **Somarlad*, and Marstrander actually marks as palatal the *l* of this very *Somarlid*.† What holds for *Sumarliði* ought to hold for *Haflíði*, the second *a* of *Amlaidhe* must be taken at its face value, and Marstrander's etymology falls to the ground.

It remains to consider the etymology of *Amlaidhe* which I proposed three or four years ago, in my *Literary History of Hamlet*.‡ According to my etymology the Scandinavian warrior who slew Niall went by the name *Anle óðe*. He thus possessed a true name and a by-name. The name *Anle* (in modern form *Ole*) is an extremely common Scandinavian name; we find it in use from the earliest times down to the present day. There is accordingly no difficulty in the hypothesis that a Scandinavian warrior, fighting in Ireland during the Viking period, bore the name. Nor is it surprising to find him equipped with a by-name as well. The use of

* Both Stokes (BB. xviii. 116) and Marstrander (*Bidrag*, 66 f.) show that they do not understand the actual phonetic value of *m* in words like *Amlaib* and *Imar*. That the *m* of *Amlaib* is a nasal *v* (not a mere sign marking the preceding vowel as nasal) appears both from *Havelok*, the English form of the name, and from the fact that the Irish vowel is short (which means that the original nasal consonant, though already become a spirant, was not yet vocalised). Again, the *m* of *Imar* (Icelandic *Ivarr*) does not merely mark the preceding vowel as nasal (as Marstrander seems to think), nor does it stand for a simple *v* (as Stokes would have it), but it represents a nasal *v*, like the *m* of *Amlaib*. Spellings with *m* or *mh* where the etymology calls for *b* or *bh* can almost invariably be explained as nasalisations; see H. Pedersen, *Vergl. Gram. der kelt. Sprachen*, i. 386 f.

† *Bidrag*, p. 114.

‡ i. 52 ff. (in *Anglistische Forschungen*, Heft 59. Heidelberg, 1923).

by-names is ancient in Scandinavia. The Beowulfian *Halga* til comes at once to mind. Familiar Icelandic examples (with adjectival by-names in weak form, as in the present case) are *Haraldr snjalli*, *Ari fróði*. Moreover, the adjective *óðe* itself was used in weak form as a by-name, as Lind has pointed out.* As a name, then, *Anle óðe* is well supported, and does not admit of any formal objection. Indeed, a man named Anle would almost have to have some by-name, if he was to be distinguished from the numerous other Scandinavians of that name. But why should this particular by-name be chosen for this particular Anle? Usually in such cases we can give no reason, for want of evidence. In this instance, however, a certain amount of evidence is available, and I think a definite reason can be given for the choice of the by-name. I will return to the point later, when I have presented the evidence referred to. Meanwhile it will suffice to say that, however an epithet arises, when once it has fastened itself upon a person it usually sticks and becomes conventional, few stopping to think what it means; and certainly, in the present case, Anle's epithet served a useful purpose in distinguishing him from other Anles. As a result of this utility, one may surmise, the by-name came to be used regularly with his true name, and name and epithet, at last, were felt to be inseparable, or, rather, the whole was *in practice* no longer analysed into name and epithet.

Whether this were true of the man's fellows or not, it was certainly true of the Irish, who in the nature of the case could make no analysis. Ignorant of the language as they were, they could not tell where the true name left off and the by-name began. Indeed, they would not even be aware that the man bore two names, but, hearing him called *Anle óðe* (or, better, *Anlóðe*, for the final *e* of *Anle* would be elided before the vowel immediately following), they would conclude, simply and without any kind of analysing, that his name was *Anlóðe* and would act accordingly. An instructive parallel is Irish *Onphile*, from ON. *Aunn fila*.† Here we have a clear case; the Irish did not distinguish true name from by-name, but thought of the whole, simply enough, as the man's name. *Amlaidhe* is a case not less clear. Put into Irish, *Anlóðe* would give **Amlodhe*, with Irish spirant *m* for Scandinavian spirant *n* just as in the case of *Amlaib*; and the *-o-* of **Amlodhe* by phonetic

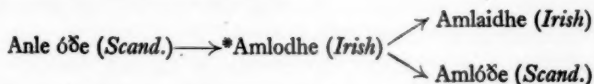
* E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska Personbinamn från Medeltiden*, col. 270.

† Marstrander, *Bidrag*, p. 146; cf. p. 53.

law would later be reduced to *-a*.* As for the *i* of *Amlaidhe*, this is a regular auxiliary sign, used to mark the palatal colouring of the consonant immediately following. The palatalisation of the *dh* by the *e* which follows it is also regular enough, of course. In sum, the derivation of *Amlaidhe* from *Anle óðe* involves no phonetic difficulties of any kind; on the contrary, *Anle óðe* put into Irish must give precisely *Amlaidhe*.

It will be well to pause here for a moment and gather up our main facts. We know from trustworthy historical records that on September 15, 919 A.D., in the Battle of Kilmashogue, the Irish king Niall Glundubh was slain by a Scandinavian warrior named *Amlaidhe*. Since this warrior was a Scandinavian, his name was presumably Scandinavian, and the presumption becomes a practical certainty when we consider that *Amlaidhe* is a name unknown to Celtic name-giving and without a parallel or analogue anywhere in the Celtic-speaking world. Finally, a Scandinavian *Anle óðe* by phonetic law would give an Irish *Amlaidhe*, and no other Scandinavian name has ever been proposed which would do the same. The derivation of *Amlaidhe* from *Anle óðe* may therefore be looked upon as established.

Jiriczek's *x* is now determined. What of the line of descent which he postulated? It would be improved, I think, if expanded and altered so as to look like this:



Starting with true name + by-name, we proceed to **Amlodhe*, the earliest Irish form. The Irish **Amlodhe* would in the course of time develop further to the extant form *Amlaidhe* in accordance with Irish phonetic law. But before this further development had taken place the name might be adopted by the Scandinavians. If it were so adopted, would it be taken over in the form *Amlóði*? That is the question to which we must now address ourselves.

The problem here is that of the *m*, of course, which in the Irish was a spirant, but in the Icelandic *Amlóði* is an ordinary nasal consonant. How would the Northerners imitate an Irish spirant

* Pedersen puts it thus (*op. cit.* i. 265): "Die kurzen und langen Vokale und Diphthonge werden im Irischen in nachtoniger Silbe, sofern sie nicht schwinden—also besonders in Silbern von mittlerer Stärke—, in der Regel zu *-a*- reduziert."

m followed by *l*? Unfortunately, Irish loan-words in Scandinavian languages are few, and none of them gives us just this phonetic sequence. We are therefore compelled to fall back on the evidence afforded by native Scandinavian words. Where can we find a parallel? I have found one, I think, in the familiar Danish verb *samle*. In ON. this verb appears in two spellings: *samna* and *safna*. The vacillation between *m* and *f* (i.e. between *m* and *v*) indicates that we have to do with a spirant *m*. The spelling with *f* marks the sound as a spirant; the spelling with *m*, as a nasal. Etymologically, of course, the sound goes back to an *m*. That *f* on occasion stands for a spirant *m* is further indicated by ON. *Dofnagr* for the Irish proper name *Domhnach*. The orthographical difficulty was of course due to the fact that the alphabet possessed no special sign for a spirant *m*, and the scribe had to choose between two symbols, each unsatisfactory.

Now in Danish territory our verb *samna* was subjected to a familiar phonetic process known as dissimilation. Two nasals in immediate succession were felt to be too much of a good thing, and an *l* was accordingly substituted for the second nasal. What effect did this substitution have on the pronunciation of the *m*? It had this effect: the *m* lost its spirantic articulation and became an ordinary *m*. Hence the contrast between modern Icelandic *safna* and modern Danish *samle*.* One may conclude that in **Amlodhe* too, once the name was taken over by the Scandinavians, the *m*, because an *l* immediately followed, would lose its spirantic articulation and become an ordinary *m*. If so, the Scandinavian *Amlóðe* is to be derived from the Irish **Amlodhe*, in strict accordance with phonetic law.

Our name seems to have gone over from Irish into English too, although at a somewhat later stage. Skeat, in the glossary of his edition of the so-called Fragment C of the ME. alliterative romance, *The Wars of Alexander*,† derives from the Icelandic common noun *amlóði* the word *amlaze* or *amlaugh*, a term of reproach or contempt used twice in the poem (vv. 1705 and 3542). From a semantic point of view no objection can be raised to Skeat's etymology. Any of the meanings of the Icelandic *amlóði* would fit the *amlaze* of the English poem. Unfortunately, however, the term occurs only twice,

* The spirant sound remained, with eventual vocalisation and loss of nasalisation, in words like *navn*, "name" (Swedish *namn*, Icelandic *nafn*), where no *l* followed.

† *Early English Text Society*, Extra Series, xlvii. London, 1886.

and our knowledge of its meaning is wholly dependent on the two contexts. From these we can conclude with certainty that *amlaze* was a term of reproach or abuse, but we cannot be sure of its precise meaning, as Professor Gollancz justly observes.* Semantically speaking, then, the derivation of *amlaze* from *amlóði* is plausible but not assured. If the phonological confirms the semantic evidence, we may indeed look upon the etymology as sound; otherwise we must give it up. Now, Professor Gollancz has pointed out the phonological difficulties involved in Skeat's derivation, and has suggested that *amlaze* may go back, not to the Icelandic word, but to its Irish original, viz. *Amlaidhe*.† He was not very successful, however, in clearing up the phonological relationship, nor was I any more successful in my former discussion of the matter,‡ for I failed to take into proper account the spelling *amlaugh* in v. 1705 of the Dublin MS. (where the Ashmole MS. has *amlaze*). The explanation which I now offer will, I think, make clear the phonetic correspondence.

The Irish *ð* (written *d* or *dh*) became a spirant *g* at an early date.§ It thus ceased to be pronounced like the English voiced *th* (as in *then*) and acquired a pronunciation like that of the North German spirant *g*. This German sound may be velar or palatal. With the former we are not greatly concerned. The latter may be described as the voiced equivalent of *ch* in words like *ich*. Its acoustic effect is similar to that of French *j*, but its articulation is different, of course; it is made between tongue-stem and hard palate. I have often heard it in Tübingen, in words like *morgen* and *wenige* (where standard German has a stop-consonant). The fricative element is very prominent, and the sound effect is markedly different from that of the English consonantal *y*, which is a semi-vowel rather than a spirant, although articulated in the same spot. Now the *dh* of *Amlaidhe* became a palatal spirant like the German sound which I have just described. How would such a sound be imitated in Northern English? No exact equivalent existed in Middle English times, for the OE. palatal spirant *g* had been vocalised. In Northern speech, however, there existed a velar

* *Sources of Hamlet*, p. 316. The appearance of diminutives in the context, however, gives us no right to conclude that *amlaze* was itself a diminutive. The context is by no means wholly made up of diminutives!

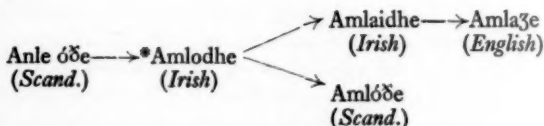
† *Op. cit.*, pp. 60 f.

‡ *Op. cit.*, i. 56 f.

§ H. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, i. 110.

or junctal * spirant *g*, written *z* or *gh*, as in the word *eze*, "eye," of our text (vv. 222, 1589); note the spellings *ezen*, *eghen*, *eughen* (vv. 344, 688, 1782).† This sound differed from the Irish palatal only in that it was pronounced a little further back in the mouth. One would therefore expect to find an *amlaze* as the Northern ME. equivalent of the Irish *Amlaidhe* (the Irish spirant *m* before *l* would presumably be imitated in English with an ordinary *m*). After the loss of the final *e* in pronunciation, one would expect spellings without *e* to crop up. The *u* of *amlaugh* may be compared to the *u* of *eughen*, noted above. This probably served to mark the *gh* as not palatal. But the *u* of *amlaugh* may well be merely orthographical, without phonetic point or purpose. The sequence *agh* without a *u* was so very unusual, that the scribe may have inserted the *u* in the interest of normality. In any case, the Ashmole MS. is the better, according to Skeat,‡ and its two *amlaze* readings, in widely separated passages, give each other excellent support, while the reading *amlaugh* stands alone.

We can now complete Jiriczek's line of descent by adding our Middle English common noun; the full sequence appears as follows:



I wish to add that in working out this sequence I have not ventured to take advantage of Professor Gollancz's dictum that "the equivalent forms of names do not always follow normal phonetic laws." On the contrary, I have admitted no member to the sequence which does not belong there by virtue of a development in strict accordance with phonetic law. I will go further. Given the first member of this sequence, the line of development must be that which I have indicated; no alternatives or other possibilities exist; and conversely, only by starting with the first member of this sequence can the other members be accounted for. I therefore look upon my etymology of *Hamlet* as established.

* By *junctal* I mean a sound made at the junction of hard palate and velum. Such a sound is thus midway between a palatal and a velar.

† For the history of this spirant *g*, see R. Jordan, *Handbuch der me. Grammatik*, i. 170.

‡ *Ed. cit.*, p. xix.

Let us now go back to the Amlaidhe of the Irish Annals. Is the Scandinavian warrior who slew Niall the historical prototype of Hamlet? We have little reason to think so. The Hamlet of the saga does not go to Ireland, nor does he slay anybody named Niall. Indeed, the only connexion between the two lies in the fact that they have the same name. Yet this connexion is an important one, and cannot be due to accident. In my opinion the Anle of the Annals probably got his by-name *óðe* through some resemblance, or fancied resemblance, in character or conduct, to the Anle of the saga. A man named Anle would certainly, by virtue of his name, be subject to comparison with the famous hero of the famous old story, and if there was anything about him which gave his fellows a pretext, these would make the comparison and fasten the by-name upon their comrade. Thus they would have him classified, ticketed, pigeon-holed—and what could they like better than that?

But why should the hero of the saga be given the by-name *óðe*? The primary meaning of the adjective was "furious, raging, wild." It was used at first, no doubt, as an honourable epithet, meant to celebrate the hero's prowess in battle. Ferocity and reckless daring in battle are characteristic of primitive man, of course. The savage warrior may even paint himself in vivid colours with hideous devices in order to inspire terror in his enemies, and often he attacks with wild shouts and grimaces for the same reason; and the man who let himself go, and raged wildly over the battlefield, was the man held in high esteem as a fighter. This point of view and this method of fighting are well known, of course. The Irish epic hero Cuchullin would work himself into a rage and by virtue of the power thus acquired would be irresistible in battle. The Swedish king Ongeneow, whom we know from the *Beowulf*, seems likewise to have been a fighter of this ferocious, savage sort. I take it, then, that the hero of the Hamlet saga won his epithet honourably enough, by his wild, irresistible attack in battle.

But with the advance in civilisation among the Scandinavians, such methods, and with them the word that described them, lost caste. The Scandinavians of the Viking period, who won their astonishing successes not by ferocity but by skill in the art of war, believed in discipline, and held in low esteem (not unmixed with a kind of admiration, it is true) those warriors who clung to the old style of fighting and ran amok when the battle spirit seized them.

The berserkr of Viking times lived under a cloud, and finally gave up the ghost; and the word *óðe*, "furious, raging," came to mean also "mad," like its English cognate *wōd*. What could be more indicative of a new age than such a linguistic change? But for us, at the moment, the change is interesting chiefly because of its effect on our hero's literary fortunes. Anle's by-name would obviously be subject to misinterpretation, once the meaning "mad" came in (even though the old meaning survived alongside). And our story shows us that this misinterpretation in fact was made. Anle the daring became mad Anle.

How could the hero be kept as hero, if his by-name came to mean "mad"? The saga itself, of course, gives us the answer. The madness of the hero was interpreted as feigned, and with the introduction of feigned madness the saga took shape as we have it to-day. Stories of heroes who feign madness are not infrequent, and one such story, that of Brutus, must have been known to the Scandinavians, as it influenced markedly the development of the Hamlet tale. Moreover, the triumph of the Irish form of the hero's name involved a complete loss of the by-name as such; no *óðe* could be abstracted out of a form like *Amlóðe*, where the natural phonetic division lies between *m* and *l*. In consequence, the primitive meaning of the by-name could not be recaptured nor have further influence on the tale. The theme of madness therefore developed undisturbed, giving us, on the one hand, a degraded form of the tale, reflected in the English *amlaze* and Icelandic *amlóði*, "simpleton" (and a similar version must have been current in Ireland), and on the other hand, the highly elaborate, sophisticated form of the tale which Saxo has preserved to us, and which ultimately inspired our greatest poet to write our greatest play. But the presentation of this development does not belong here; the present paper is devoted to etymology, not to philology, as I said in the beginning. In the second volume of my *Literary History of Hamlet* I expect to take up these matters in detail.

The determination of the historical prototype of Hamlet can be made only through a study of the historical elements in the Hamlet saga. I have elsewhere made this study, and reached the conclusion that King Onela of the *Beowulf* is the Hamlet of history.* It is a pleasure to me now to point out that the late Axel Olrik seems to have anticipated me in recognising the Geatish origin and

* The name *Anle* put into Old English gives *Onela*.

the Beowulfian connexions of the Hamlet legend. His book on the subject, *Jyske Sagnkonger*, was to have made the fifth volume of his mighty work, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*. Unfortunately he left the work unfinished, and it still lies unpublished, but an extremely brief summary of its contents has been printed by Olrik's pupil, Hans Ellekilde.* From the summary it does not appear how far the great philologist penetrated into the bewildering complexities of the history of the saga, but if he recognised its Geatish origin and its Beowulfian connexions, he must have been on the right track !

* In *Nogle Grundsætninger for Sagnforskning*, af Axel Olrik (posthumously published, Copenhagen, 1921), *Indledning*, p. 13. I did not become acquainted with this work until my *Literary History of Hamlet* was in print.

NOTES ON THE EARLY LIFE OF JOHN DONNE

BY F. P. WILSON

FAITHFUL and exquisite as is the general impression which it gives, Walton's *Life of John Donne* is often wrong or misleading in details of dates and sequences. Walton knew Donne only as Vicar of St. Dunstan's and Dean of St. Paul's, and he was ill equipped to write a record of the poet's secular life. Modern research has corrected and supplemented his narrative of the early years with the aid of letters and of documents at Oxford, at Lincoln's Inn, and elsewhere, but one mine of information, the records at the London Guildhall, has been inadequately worked. Perhaps the last writer on Donne to consult them was the antiquary, T. E. Tomlins, who published an edition of Walton's *Life* in 1852. It is not surprising that Tomlins missed several facts of interest to Donne's biographers, for the references to the Donne estate are scattered in many places, and are not adequately indexed. Some of these references I came upon by chance, and in searching for others I have had the generous help and advice of Mr. A. H. Thomas, Records Clerk to the City of London. While the facts set out below throw no new light on Donne's mind and art, they add a little to our knowledge of that period in his life about which we are most ignorant.

I. HIS PATRIMONY

The will of John Donne, citizen and ironmonger of London, was drawn up in accordance with an ancient and laudable custom of the City of London "by the wiser and better sort of citizens religiously regarded." His possessions were divided into three equal parts: one part for his wife, one for his children, and one for the payment of debts and legacies, the residue of the third part to be

shared portion and portion alike between his widow and children. This custom had two advantages: it ensured that wealth was equitably divided among families "without favour and affection," and it prevented citizens from leaving the whole of their estate to strangers to the "great disreputation and decay" of the City.*

The children of freemen, who were under the age of twenty-one years at the time of their father's decease, came under the guardianship of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, sitting as a Court of Orphans in the Chamber of the Guildhall. The Court acted as fathers and protectors to the orphans. It controlled the conditions of their apprenticeship and marriage, it watched over their conduct, and it safeguarded their property. In an age when the weak and the defenceless were often pushed to the wall, the Court of Orphans, carefully and honestly administered as it was at this time, appears as a most beneficent institution.

The poet's father died in 1575/6 between January 16, when he made his will, and February 8, when his will was proved. His wife was left sole executrix, and soon after her husband's death she was bound before the Court to produce within two months' time an inventory of the testator's estate. The inventory is not extant, but it had been submitted by May 10, when Elizabeth Donne entered into a bond of 2,000 marks that she would find sufficient sureties for the payment of the orphanage money. On May 18 she paid into the Chamber £300.†

For obvious reasons a widow left executrix of her late husband's will was forbidden to contract marriage before presenting an inventory on pain of forfeiting 8s. in every £1 of her portion. Elizabeth was free of this penalty by May. With child when her husband made his will,‡ and left in charge of six young children and a complicated estate, she decided to marry again. Her choice fell upon a distinguished London physician. On July 17 the Court of Aldermen "for divers considerations especially moving the same,

* For this custom and for the procedure of the Court of Orphans, see *A Briefe Discourse of the laudable Customes of London* (1584), *Orders taken & enacted, for Orphans and their portions. Anno M.D.LXXX.* and *Lex Londinensis* (1680).

† Repertory XIX., fos. 66, 75, 78.

‡ The will reads: "And one other equal part thereof I give and bequeath to and amongst all my children as well now living as to the child which my wife now goeth withal equally amongst all my said children." Sir Edmund Gosse (*Life*, ii. 357-9) was ill served by his copyist in this and in other places. For example, for "John Crosland" read "John Ewstace," for "my sister Marden" read "my sister Marven," for "John Dawson" read "John Dawlsoll," and for Agnes Cooper and Agnes Dawson "my maiden aunts" read "my maiden servants."

did grant unto John Symmings, doctor in physic, who hath married Elizabeth the late wife and executrix of the testament of John Donne iremonger deceased, furtherday" to bring in sureties for the payment of orphanage money. Henceforth it is Symmings who appears before the Court of Aldermen and takes the burden of responsibility. On September 13 he was ordered to pay £300 to the Chamberlain, and on the same day he was again granted "furtherday" to bring in sureties to be bound for the payment of the residue of the money. Symmings paid the £300 into the Chamber on September 20.*

It was not usual, however, to pay all the testator's estate into the Chamber. There would be loans or securities which it was not possible or desirable to convert into cash. For that part of the estate which was not paid into the Chamber the executor brought in sureties who bound themselves, their executors and administrators, until the money was fully paid at marriage or at the age of twenty-one years. It was the custom never to make any recognisance touching orphans of greater penalty than £400 and not for the payment of above £300. Accordingly, four citizens (two drapers, a clothworker, and a merchant-tailor) bound themselves on September 20, 1576, in a recognizance to pay £100, four ironmongers bound themselves on September 27 to pay £300, and again on December 11 to pay £301 14s. 1½d., and three haberdashers bound themselves on October 30 to pay £200.† At the death or "decay" of a "recognitor"‡ his fellows were required to bring into Court good and sufficient sureties to be bound to the Chamberlain in his stead. Most of the references to the Donne estate relate to matters of surety.§ They show with what care the Court guarded against any possible danger of loss to their wards and to themselves.

The usual rate of interest allowed on orphanage money paid into the Chamber was £5 per cent. per annum. On September 13, 1576, the Chamberlain was ordered to pay Symmings "towards the finding of the said orphans yearly five pounds for every hundreth pounds"; and again on July 5, 1586, the Chamberlain was authorised to pay "Mr. Doctor Symmings or such other persons as shall have the

* Repertory XIX. 99, 116b, 119.

† Letter Book Y, 100b-101; Repertory XIX. 119b, 123, 133b, 151.

‡ "Recognitor" in the sense of a recognizor or one who enters into a recognizance is not given in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, but it is the usual, if not the only, form used in the Guildhall Records at this date. See, for example, Repertory XXI. 119 (December 8, 1584).

§ Cf. Repertory XIX. 150b, 391b; XX. 197, 377b, 386b; XXI. 119, 122, 272, 276, 285b, 342, 375, 405, 422, 550b; *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1586-7, 356-7.

keeping of the same orphans after the rate of five pounds in the hundred by the year."* The recognizors were bound to find and provide "meat, drink, apparel, linen and woollen and all other necessities to the orphans meet and belonging."

The children whom John Donne left to the care of his widow are named in the following order: Elizabeth, Anne, John, Henry, Mary, and Katherine.† No doubt the order is that of seniority. Elizabeth, Mary, and Katherine died in or about the year 1583, while still under the wardship of the Court, augmenting by their portions the shares of the surviving orphans.‡ Anne received her portion on November 18, 1585, after her marriage with Avarey Copley, Esquire, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn.§ John, the poet, came of age before June 19, 1593, and acknowledged himself fully satisfied of his portion on June 19 and 26.||

Henry was now the only unmarried orphan under the age of twenty-one years. In May, 1593, William Harrington, a priest of the seminary of Rheims, was discovered and apprehended in the chamber of "one Mr. Henry Dunne, a young gentleman of the Inns of Court." Henry, says a Catholic report of the time, was committed to the Clink, "where he persevered very constant. His father in his lifetime had given to the Chamber of London a certain sum of money for which they were to pay to this his son at 21 years of his age 500*l*. if he lived so long. Being now near 21 he was this last summer [1593], the plague being then in Newgate, removed from the Clink thither, and within few days after he there sickened and thereof died, in all likelihood his remove contrived of purpose by that mean so to make him away to defeat him of his money."¶ This libel on the honesty and good faith of the City magistrates is disproved by the fact that John and Anne received on April 11, 1594, the portions due to them after their brother's death. Anne was then the wife of William Lyly of London, gentleman.**

* Repertory XIX. 116b, and XXI. 313. Cf. also Repertory XIX. 364b, and XXI. 276, 405.

† Letter Book Y, 100b-101.

‡ Repertory XXI. 276.

§ Repertory XXI. 237b, 239b; Journal XXII. 3; Letter Book Y, 100b-101.

|| Repertory XXIII. 72; Journal XXIII. 197b; Letter Book Y, 100b-101.

¶ Stonyhurst MSS., Anglia i. 77. I am indebted to the Rector and Librarian of Stonyhurst College for information of the contents of this MS. Cf. also J. Gillow, *A Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, ii. 94. From Harrington's "examination" it appears that he told Henry he was a priest "and did shrieve him" (State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. 245, doc. 14).

** Repertory XXIII. 199b, 200, 200b; Journal XXIII. 255; Letter Book Y, 100b-101.

It is now possible to estimate pretty exactly the amount of Donne's patrimony. Three hundred pounds were paid into the Chamber on May 18, 1576, and another £300 on September 20. The sum of £100 was paid in by a "decayed" recognizor on May 11, 1581, and a sum of £66 13s. 4d., part of a recognizance for which a collateral surety stood bound on March 30, 1587, was also no doubt paid into the Chamber.* The total sum in the Chamber was then £766 13s. 4d. Anne received £234 6s. 8d. on November 18, 1585, and John £232 16s. 8d. on June 19, 1593. When Henry died there was £299 10s. still remaining in the Chamber. Anne and John each received £149 5s. on April 11, 1594. The money in the hands of recognizors, after deducting the sum of £166 13s. 4d. paid into the Chamber, would amount to about £735, and of this money John would receive one half. His total portion was therefore about £750, a portion far short of the £3,000 with which Izaak Walton credited him, but "an indifferent fortune" sufficient to allow him "the sweetness and security of a freedom and independency."†

In connection with these payments Donne signed his name at the Guildhall twice on June 19, 1593, once on June 26, 1593, and twice on April 11, 1594.‡ These signatures are the earliest examples of the poet's writing now extant. His hand is already well formed, and his signature at twenty-one differs remarkably little from the signature of his latest years.

II. THE DATE OF HIS BIRTH

Walton gives the year of Donne's birth as 1573, § and he has been followed by all later biographers. But it is certain that the poet was born before June 19, 1572. On June 19, 1593, William

* Repertory XX. 197 and XXI. 122.

† *The Loseley Manuscripts*, ed. A. J. Kempe, 341; letter to Sir Thomas Egerton, March 1, 1601/2. It is stated on March 17, 1586, that from 1581 to 1583 "there was then 6 orphans living. And the portions in orphanage money amongst them all appeareth by the book of division to be but £1049 18s. 10½d" (Repertory XXI. 276). But this, I think, must refer to the amount of orphanage money left in 1586 after Anne had received her portion. On this count Donne's portion amounted to $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2}$ of £1049 18s. 10½d. = £787. It will be seen that the report cited on p. 275 above that Henry's portion was £500 was very near the mark.

‡ Letter Book Y, 100b-101; Journal XXIII. 197b and 255. The signatures of Anne, of Aveyrey Copley, and of William Lyly are also to be found here.

§ Not until 1675. No year is given in the texts of 1640, 1658, and 1670. This was pointed out to me by Mr. I. A. Shapiro of the University of Birmingham, whose work on the early life of Donne, as yet unpublished, I have had the privilege of seeing.

Scudamore ironmonger and Robert Chambers cordwainer came before the Court of Aldermen and "deposed upon their Oaths John son and orphan of John Dunn Iremonger deceased to be of full age of XXI years and upwards." * William Scudamore or Skydmore was a wealthy and reputable citizen and an old friend of the family. He had been servant to the rich ironmonger, Thomas Lewen, whose widow had employed Donne's father to manage her estate; he benefited under the will of Donne's father, where he is styled a "loving friend"; and he was one of the original recognizors in 1576. In 1593 he was Master of the Company of Ironmongers.

What interval elapsed between Donne's twenty-first birthday and June 19, 1593? Money paid into the Chamber could be collected at a day's notice, but it took longer to recover the money in the hands of recognizors. While Henry died in the summer of 1593, it was not until the following April that Anne and John received the portions due to them after his death. Donne may have been born towards the end of 1571 or between January and June 19, 1572.

The evidence of the portraits and of the epitaph is not perhaps of much value, but it may be noted that a birth-date between January and June 1572 can be reconciled with the statement on Marshall's engraving of the portrait of 1591 that Donne was eighteen years of age in that year, and with the statement on the epitaph that he was forty-two years old when he took orders in 1614 (*i.e.* in January 1614/5).† On the engraving by Pieter Lombart he is said at his death in 1631 (March 31) to have been "Anno Ætatis suæ 59°." If born between March 31 and June 19, 1572, he was in the fifty-ninth year of his age on the day of his death: if born between March 31, 1571, and March 31, 1572, he was fifty-nine years of age on that day.

In the matriculation register of the University of Oxford, Donne is stated to have been eleven years of age when he matriculated from Hart Hall on October 23, 1584. But the registers, as their editor, the Rev. Andrew Clark, observes, are often inaccurate, and we must believe on the authoritative evidence given above that Donne was at least twelve years of age on the day of his matriculation. The

* Repertory XXI. 72.

† Assuming that "ætatis suæ" means "aged," as it often does, not "in the year of his age."

discrepancy between his age and that of his college friend Henry Wotton (born March 30, 1568) was not therefore so great as has been supposed, but Jonson's affirmation that Donne wrote all his best pieces before he was twenty-five years old appears the more astonishing and the more incredible.

III. HIS STEPFATHER

John Symmings, who married Elizabeth Donne between May 18 and July 17, 1576, was educated at Oxford. Fellow of New College from 1536 to 1538, he took his B.A. degree in 1540 and his M.A. in 1544. After graduating at Bologna he practised in Oxford and in London, and proceeded B.Med. at Oxford in 1554 and D.Med. in 1555. In the year of his doctorate he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, of which he was President in 1569 and again in 1572. Wood says that he was in great practice in London. No doubt he is the "Dr. Symonds" described in William Clowes's *A Right Frutefull and Approved Treatise* (1602) as "a very learned and Judicial Physician," sometime neighbour to a surgeon of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. On July 15, 1588, he was buried in the Church of St. Bartholomew the Less, the parish church to the tenants dwelling within the precincts of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, so that Walton's statement that Donne's father lived on to 1589 is not so wild as has been supposed. Unfortunately Symmings left no will. All that Somerset House tells us is that administration of his goods was granted to his widow, Elizabeth, on the day following his burial.*

These bare facts show that Symmings was a distinguished physician in his day, but they tell us nothing of his character and beliefs. We should like to know more of a man who was stepfather and guardian to John Donne during some of the most formative years of the poet's life. Did he, for example, remain a Catholic under Elizabeth? The career of Thomas Lodge shows that it was possible to become a successful London doctor while professing the old religion.

At his mother's marriage in 1576 Donne, then about four years old, would leave his father's house in the parish of St. Nicholas

* A. Wood, *Fasti* (ed. Bliss), i. 144; *Register of the University of Oxford*, ed. C. W. Boase, I. 197, 348; W. Munk, *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians*; P.C.C. London. Admon., July 1588.

Olave and go to reside with his stepfather. Here perhaps he lived for eight years, under the care of a private tutor, until he went to Oxford. In the small parish of St. Bartholomew the Less Inigo Jones, the son of a clothworker, had been christened in 1573. John Lyly also lived in this parish from 1596, and perhaps earlier, so that it is possible that the William Lyly who married Donne's sister between 1585 and 1594 belonged to the same family.*

Symmings is not mentioned in Walton's *Life*.† More curious still is the absence of any reference to him in Donne's own writings. When after the death of his sister he writes a consolatory letter to his mother, then Elizabeth Rainsford, it is she whom he thanks for the education "which must make my fortune," and which she was "so carefully and so chargeably diligent" to provide.‡

IV. THE DATE OF HIS TRAVELS

It is still uncertain at what period of his life Donne travelled abroad. Walton says that after the Cadiz expedition of 1596 and the Islands Voyage of 1597 Donne "returned not back into England, till he had stayed some years, first in Italy, and then in Spain." But this is inconsistent with Donne's own statement in March 1601/2 that he had been four years secretary to Sir Thomas Egerton. Sir Edmund Gosse holds that he travelled between 1592 and 1596; Professor Grierson believes with Dr. Jessopp that his travels were completed before he began the study of the law at Thavies Inn about the year 1591. The evidence now available proves that Donne was in London in June 1593 and again in April 1594, but it does not decide whether he started on his travels in 1588 after the death of his stepfather or in 1594 after receiving the full share of his patrimony.

* I have searched the registers of this parish in vain for records of the burials of Elizabeth, Mary, and Katherine Donne and of the marriage of Anne Donne. Perhaps Symmings did not reside there until after 1585.

† I find two vague references to him in later biographies: in a footnote on p. 115 of Jessopp's *John Donne* (1897) and in Gosse's *Life*, ii. 88.

‡ *A Collection of Letters, made by Sr Tobie Mathews K^r*. (1660), pp. 323-7.

THE PARLIAMENT OF BEES

BY S. R. GOLDING

(1) DATE OF PUBLICATION

THE sole extant edition of the *Parliament of Bees** is the quarto of 1641. Reference, however, is made to an earlier quarto of 1607 in Gildon's edition of Langbaine's *Dramatick Poets*, 1699, in Giles Jacob's *Poetical Register*,† 1719, in Baker's *Companion to the Playhouse*, 1764, and in Charles Lamb's *Extracts from the Garrick Plays*. Sir E. Gosse, too, "remembers reading the *Bees* in a 4to of the early date, which he found after a personal search in the King's Library in the British Museum." So far, the efforts that have been made to locate this copy have not met with success; and it is more than likely, as Bullen suggests, that Gildon, having confused the date of the *Bees* with that of *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, was followed in his blunder by successive writers.

In addition to the quarto of 1641 there is a contemporary transcript among the Lansdowne MSS. (No. 725) in the British Museum. On examination, the textual differences, which in some cases are extensive, show the quarto to be a revised version of the MS., though the emendations do not always provide superior readings. The MS., according to the title-page, was "found In a Hollow Tree In a garden at Hibla, in a strandge Languadge, And now faithfully Translated into Easie English Verse by John Daye, Cantabrig," whilst on the title-page of the quarto, on which Day's name also appears, we are informed that the *Bees* is "an Allegoricall description of the actions of good and bad men in these our daies." Furthermore, the *Address to the Impartiall Reader* is omitted from the quarto, and the dedicatee is George Butler instead of the William Augustine of the MS.

* The references are to Bullen, *Works of John Day*, Pearson's reprint of *Dekker's Dramatic Works*, Grosart, *Non-Dramatic Works of Dekker*, and to the Tudor facsimile text of *The Noble Soldier*.

† I have been unable to consult a copy of the *Poetical Register*, but see Bullen, *Intro.*, i. 25.

(2) DATE OF COMPOSITION

If we neglect for a moment the dubious quarto of 1607, we are left with 1640—the year when Day died—as the limit in one direction when the *Bees* could have been composed. Fleay's date for the MS. is 1639, and for the quarto 1640, but his arguments are open to serious question. I print his remarks in full : *

That this mask dates in 1640, and not in 1607 . . . is clear from the dedication to William Austin in the Lansdowne MS., which refers to a previous dedication to him, viz. that of the *Peregrinatio*, in which Day mentions Austin's "serious endeavours," that is, his *Meditations* and *Hæc Homo*, published in 1635 and 1637. Day's dedication to him was probably written c. 1639, and not being accepted, was transferred to Mr. George Butler when the *Bees* was published. Moreover, in *Char.* 4 there are allusions to *The Whore* "new vampt" (September, 1639), and Taylor's *Praise of the Needle* (1640).

Now Day's first dedication could not possibly have been written c. 1639, because William Austin (Augustine) died in 1634, and all his works were published posthumously, though copies were circulated amongst his friends during his lifetime. From this the only logical inference is that the dedicatory Addresses to Austin, both in the *Peregrinatio* and in the Lansdowne MS., were composed prior to 1634. When some time afterwards the *Bees* was prepared for publication, Austin had already been dead several years. Hence the necessity of finding another patron—Mr. George Butler. I doubt, also, whether there is a reference in *Char.* 4 to Taylor's *Praise of the Needle*, or a specific allusion to *The Whore new Vamp'd* acted at the Red Bull, September, 1639. The title of the play was probably taken from a current salacious expression; otherwise, it would be difficult to account for its inclusion in the MS.—"toth Draper for new vamping an old ()," where the Elizabethan reader would instantly supply the missing word to rime with "more."

In contrast to Fleay, Chambers goes to the opposite extreme and suggests a date of composition c. 1608–1616. After referring to the fact that the Address to William Austin in the *Peregrinatio*, to which Day alludes in the MS. of the *Bees*, was our playwright's first dedicatory venture, he continues : †

Moreover it [the *Peregrinatio*] describes (p. 50) an "antemaske," and this term, so far as we know, first came into use 1608. The *Bees*

* *Biog. Chron. Eng. Dram.*, i. 114.

† *Eliz. Stage*, iii. 288.

therefore must be later still. On the other hand, it can hardly be later than about 1616, when died Philip Henslowe, whom it is impossible to resist seeing with Fleay in the Fenerator or Usuring Bee.

But if these six lines * descriptive of a broker's character do refer to Henslowe, and this is not altogether proven, why must they have been written before Henslowe's death in 1616? And, if so, why were they withheld from both *The Wonder of a Kingdom* and the MS., to be inserted for the first time in the 1641 quarto of the *Bees*? It would also seem from the dedication to the *Peregrinatio*, written before the *Parliament of Bees*, that the author was no longer young when this moral tractate was composed. As far as we can gather Day was born in 1574; and, if we adhere to 1608-1616 as the original date of composition, Day would only be about forty years of age when he first turned his attention to the masque. Furthermore, Austin's *Meditations*—one of his "serious endeavours"—opens with a meditation for Ladyday, 1621, so that the *Peregrinatio*, let alone the *Bees*, could not have been composed before that year. Finally, we should be forced to conclude that the *Parliament of Bees* preceded such plays as *The Noble Soldier* and *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, and that, contrary to all the textual evidence, Day adapted passages from the *Bees* for incorporation in the aforementioned plays.

A more reasonable date for the MS. would therefore be c. 1633-4, i.e. just after the *Peregrinatio* and shortly before Austin's death in 1634. The fact, too, that there are so many resemblances in diction between the *Bees* and the *Peregrinatio* † is perhaps evidence that both these works were composed about the same period. The date of composition is also inextricably bound up with the relation of the *Bees* to *The Noble Soldier* and *The Wonder of a Kingdom*—a problem reserved for a later section, so that only bare reference will be made to it here. Both these plays, scenes from which were modified to harmonise with their inclusion in the *Bees*, were entered on the books of the Stationers' Register in 1631, and were probably adapted by Dekker from older plays—*The Spanish Fig* (1602) and *Come See a Wonder* (1623) respectively—in the same year. Though the exact date of Dekker's death is unknown, there is no evidence that he was alive after 1632; and what more feasible than that, on the demise of his friend, Day borrowed from the original plays to which Dekker and he had perhaps formerly contributed, and utilised later, on their publication, the additional material in *The Noble*

* *Char.* 10, p. 63, quoted p. 302, *infra*. † See *Notes and Queries*, cli. 167-8.

Soldier (1634) and *The Wonder of a Kingdom* (1636)? Anyhow, at least six years—from 1634 to 1640—must have elapsed before the final text was completed, and though, as appears from the dedication, Day prepared his work for the Press, he was already in his grave when it was issued to the world.

(3) SOURCES

Bullen was the first to note that several *Characters* in the *Bees* were founded on *The Wonder of a Kingdom*. Mr. J. M. Thomson, of Edinburgh, afterwards pointed out to him that *Chars.* 4 and 5 were based on some scenes in *The Noble Soldier*. Below I give in tabulated form the source of each *Character*.*

Char. (4to).	Char. (MS.).	Source.
1	1	(Day's own composition.)
2	2	<i>W.K.</i> , pp. 232-5.
		<i>Come See a Wonder</i> (?).
3	3	<i>W.K.</i> , pp. 249-250, 254-7.
		<i>Come See a Wonder</i> (?).
4	4	<i>N.S.</i> , C2 ^v -C3 ^v , F2 ^v -F2 ^r .
		<i>The Spanish Fig</i> (?).
5	5	<i>N.S.</i> , D4 ^v -E1 ^r .
		<i>The Spanish Fig</i> (?).
6	7	(Revision by Day of <i>Char.</i> 7, MS.)
		<i>The Spanish Fig</i> (?).
7	6	<i>W.K.</i> , pp. 263-5.
		<i>Come See a Wonder</i> (?).
8	10	(Revision by Day of <i>Char.</i> 10, MS.)
		<i>The Spanish Fig</i> (?).
9	9	<i>W.K.</i> , pp. 268-270.
		<i>Come See a Wonder</i> (?).
10	8	<i>W.K.</i> , pp. 265-8.
		<i>Come See a Wonder</i> (?).
11	11	(Day's own composition.)
12	12	(Day's own composition.)

(4) *The Noble Soldier* AND *The Wonder of a Kingdom*

A few remarks are necessary concerning the history of these plays before their relation to the *Bees* can be adequately discussed.

* *Chars.* 6, 7, 8 and 10 of the 4to correspond to *Chars.* 7, 6, 10 and 8 respectively of the MS.

The Noble Spanish Soldier was entered on the Stationers' Register May 16, 1631, and again December 9, 1633 (on both occasions as by Dekker), and printed (by Nicholas Vavasour) in 1634 as *The Noble Soldier* with the words "Written by S[amuel] R[owley]" on the title-page. Fleay* identifies the play with *The Spanish Fig* (Henslowe's *Diary*, January 6, 1602), since (as he erroneously states) the king is poisoned with a Spanish fig. In reality, as Greg has observed, the king meets his death by drinking the poisoned wine prepared for the lady to whom he had been contracted, but the mention of Spanish figs in the text (H₃^v.) is perhaps a reminiscence of the older play, so that Fleay's identification is probably correct. Fleay and Greg† both consider that the original piece was written by Dekker and Rowley, and that *The Noble Soldier* contains additions by Day. Fleay also surmises that Rowley reclaimed it after Dekker's death. Bullen‡ at one period thought that the original was written by Rowley and revised by Dekker, but that Day shared in its composition. In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, however, he inclines to the view that "the play was largely, if not entirely, written by Dekker." Miss Hunt,§ without referring to Day's participation, concurs in Bullen's earlier opinion. Schelling|| would make Rowley "chiefly responsible," whilst Mr. Sykes¶ finds nothing in the play suggestive of this writer's authorship.

The Wonder of a Kingdom was entered on the Stationers' Register, May 16, 1631 (at the same time as *The Noble Spanish Soldier*) and February 24, 1636, and published in the latter year (by Nicholas Vavasour) with Dekker's name on the title-page. Fleay** seeks to identify this play with *Come See a Wonder* by Day, licensed by Herbert, September 18, 1623, and considers that Day wrote all the Gentili and Torrenti parts, and was the creator of Mutio, Philippo, Tornelli, and all the characters not included in the *dramatis personæ*. He furthermore conjectures, from the mention of cards in the last few lines, that the original Dekker play was a "Card play"—the *Mack*,†† produced by the Admiral's men

* *Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama*, i. 128.

† *Henslowe's Diary*, ii. 220.

‡ *Old English Plays*, i. (1882), 257; *Works of John Day, Intro.*, i. 26.

§ *Thomas Dekker*, 187.

|| *Eliz. Drama*, i. 422.

¶ *Sidelights on Eliz. Drama*, 77.

** *Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama*, i. 136.

†† I do not agree. The *Ile of Guls* is not a "Card play," and yet cards are mentioned towards the close (v. 108).

on February 21, 1595. Greg * follows Fleay, but Miss Hunt † thinks that Dekker "was an unnamed collaborator in *Come See a Wonder*, for which he wrote the Gentili-Torrenti sub-plot, and that later he reclaimed it for a play entirely his own."

Amidst so many conflicting theories it would be rash to dogmatise as to the history of these plays, but one fact alone is certain: that both *The Noble Soldier* and *The Wonder of a Kingdom* are a revision of older plays, as in the body of each there are characters introduced but not enumerated in the list of dramatis personæ. Thus in *The Noble Soldier* there are five such omissions—Carlo, Cornego, Alanzo, Juanna, and Signor No—and in *The Wonder of a Kingdom* a still greater number—Montinello, Buzzardo (a foolish gentleman), four gallants, Torrenti's brother, an apothecary, a broker, soldier, steward, goldsmith, and friar. This does not necessarily signify that all the aforementioned characters were added for the first time when the original plays were revised, but in *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, two passages merely form connecting links, ‡ and from the absence of a word riming with "steere" in the prologue it would seem that even this has not escaped correction. With regard to *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, I think that Dekker had formerly assisted Day in *Come See a Wonder*, and that Day's contribution was practically excised and almost completely re-written by Dekker for the extant play in 1631: similarly, in the case of *The Noble Soldier*, that *The Spanish Fig* was the joint production of Day and Dekker, subjected in 1631 to the same process as *Come See a Wonder*, and that on Dekker's death in 1632 it was prepared for the Press by Samuel Rowley, who may have died before its publication in 1634. As we are unaware of the precise date of either Rowley's or Dekker's death, the statement of the printer that the play is a "Posthumus" can, in its equivocal nature, be taken as a reference to either dramatist.

(5) AUTHORSHIP

The *Parliament of Bees*, which consists of a sequence of twelve scenes, can be conveniently divided into four sections:

- (1) *Chars.* 1, 11, and 12, for which Day is wholly responsible.
- (2) *Chars.* 4 and 5, based on *The Noble Soldier*.

* Henslowe's Diary, ii. 174-5.

† Thomas Dekker, 186.

‡ "We heare there is a gallant. . . . Meane time we'le hence" (pp. 223-4);
 "No more of complement 'Tis nobly spoke" (pp. 280-1).

(3) *Chars.* 6 and 8 allied to *Chars.* 4 and 5, but for which no source has been discovered.

(4) *Chars.* 2, 3, 7, 9 and 10, derived from *The Wonder of a Kingdom*.

As Day's authorship of the *Characters* in the first section has never been doubted, attention will be focussed on the remaining sections.

The first general question with which we are confronted is this: If *The Noble Soldier* and *The Wonder of a Kingdom* are almost entirely by Dekker, how are we to account for the fact that Day has in some cases transferred whole passages to the *Bees*, suppressing and adding at will, and only making those alterations necessary in an adaptation? Fleay, in an attempt to exculpate Day from the charge of plagiarism, attempts to solve the problem by attributing to him all those scenes in *The Noble Soldier* and *The Wonder of a Kingdom* that correspond with their respective *Characters* in the *Parliament of Bees*. For this he gives no valid reasons, and adduces no corroborative evidence of Day's handiwork in either of the above plays mentioned. He has certainly overlooked the remarkable coincidence in plot, characterisation, sentiment, diction and versification between these two plays and some of Dekker's other works. Before proceeding further, the reader should compare the character of the King of Spain and his relations with the queen and Onelia (*N.S.*) with that of the Spanish king and his attitude to the queen and Tormiella (*Match Me in London*); Baltazar (*N.S.*) with Gazetto (*M.M.L.*), and the inducements offered by the king in each case to poison Onelia and Sebastian (*N.S.*, III. iii.), and the queen and Cordolente (*M.M.L.*, IV. iv, p. 205) respectively; the poet (*N.S.*, III. ii.) with Bellamont (*Northward Hoe*); Medina's disguise as a French doctor (*N.S.*, IV. iii.) and Sebastian's as a friar (*N.S.*, V. iv.) with Angelo's disguise as a doctor (*W.K.*, II. ii.) and as a friar (*W.K.*, V. i.); the list of nations (*N.S.*, III. iii.) with a like enumeration (*M.M.L.*, III. ii, p. 180); the one-legged soldier and mariner (*W.K.*) with similar characters in *If this be not a good Play* (pp. 291-3); the description of the buildings of Gentili (*W.K.*, I. iii, p. 232) and of Torrenti (*W.K.*, III. i, p. 249) with that of Sir Alexander Wentgrave's building (*Roaring Girl*, I. ii, pp. 141-2); Angelo's disguise as doctor and his visit to Fiametta (*W.K.*, III. ii.) with Gazetto's disguise as a doctor and his visit to Tormiella (*M.M.L.*, V. ii.); the prodigal Torrenti reduced to beggary (*W.K.*, V. ii, p. 280) with the prodigal in *If this be not a good Play* (V, p. 355); and then

decide whether these preliminary parallels, at least, do not favour the assignment of both *The Noble Soldier* and *The Wonder of a Kingdom* to Dekker. Moreover, an attempt will be made to show that those scenes in these two plays which correspond to *Characters* in the *Bees* are undeniably the work of Dekker, and that when in the masque, whether it be in the MS. or quarto, there are deviations from either *The Noble Soldier* or *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, Day's literary craftsmanship is nearly always determinable.

I therefore propose to examine the various *Characters* individually, with special reference to their sources in order to indicate phraseological similarities with the works of Dekker and of Day. I commence with those in Section 2, *Chars.* 4 and 5, and follow with a discussion of *Chars.* 6 and 8.

Character 4

Bullen calls attention to the "curious abruptness" of the opening lines :

Arm. Is Master Bee at leasure to speak Spanish
With a Bee of service? *Don.* No.

There is no reason why the Master Bee should prefer to converse in Spanish rather than in any other language. Day has evidently in the quarto copied almost verbatim from *The Noble Soldier*.

N.S., C2^v.—Day has reversed the position in the *Bees* of Baltazar's opening speech, so that "Thou god of gay apparrell," etc. (N.S.—"Thou god of good Apparell," etc.) immediately follows the exit of the Don (p. 28).

*Doe not my Dons know me
Because I'm poore in clothes? stood my beaten Taylor
Playting my rich hose, my silke stocking-man
Drawing upon my Lordships Courtly calfe
Payres of Imbroydred things, . . .*

Compare *Match Me in London*, v, p. 211 :

Signior Lupo, why *Don*, not *know me*, I am the *poore* Shopkeeper, whose ware is taken up by the King.

Day has altered "silke stocking-man" to "silke-man." In Dekker's *If this be not a good Play* (p. 291), however, the same expression is used by the Soldier to denote courtiers :

*I ha brought
With me a hundred Souldiers, (old Servitors)
Poore as my selfe in clothes; picke out five hundred
Of such silke-stocken men, if they beate us, hang us.*

N.S., C². :

Bal. I begge, you whorson *muscod* ! my petition
Is written on my bosome in red wounds.

Cock. I am no *Barbar-Surgeon*.

Exit.

Bal. You *yellow hammer*, why *shaver* :
That such poore things as these, onely made up
Of Taylors shreds and Merchants silken rags,
And *Pothecary drugs* to lend their breath
Sophisticated *smells*, . . .

Day has substituted (*Bees*, p. 28) "proud Don" for "whorson *muscod*" and "Surgeon" for "*Barbar-Surgeon*," but compare Dekker's *Match Me in London* (i. i, p. 137), where Malevento is seeking the whereabouts of his daughter, Tormiella :

Mal. What Bilbo out with all.

Bil. A *Barber* stood with her on Saturday night very late when he had *shaw'd* all his Customers, and as I thinke, came to trimme her.

Mal. A *Barber* ! To trim her ! Sawst thou the *Muskcod* ?

Bil. A chequer'd aprone Gentleman I assure you : he *smelt* horrible strong of Camphire, Bay leaves and Rose water : and he stood fidling with Tormiella.

Mal. Ha ?

Bil. Fidling at least halfe an houre, on a Citterne with a mans broken head at it, so that I thinke 'twas a *Barber Surgeon*.

Day omits "yellow hammer," but this compound is also used as a term of contempt in *Westward Hoe*, p. 301.

"Pothecary drugs," which is likewise omitted by Day, occurs twice elsewhere in Dekker's plays (*Whore of Babylon*, p. 231 ; *Virgin Martyr*, p. 61).

Baltazar continues his vehement tirade, and contrasts the treatment meted out to courtiers with that accorded to soldiers :

Oh that such flies

Doe buzze about the beames of Majesty !

Like earwigs, tickling a Kings yeelding eare

With that *Court-Organ* (*Flattery*) when a souldier

Must not come neere the Court gates twenty score,

But stand for want of clothes, (tho he win Townes)

Amongst the Almesbasket-men ! his best reward

Being *scorn'd* to be a fellow to the blacke gard :

Why shud a Souldier (being the worlds right arme)

Be cut thus by the left ? (a Courtier ?)

Is the world all Ruffe and Feather, and nothing else ? shall

I never see a Taylor give his coat with a difference from

a Gentleman ?

The fourth line is reminiscent of Dekker. Compare the *Whore of Babylon*, p. 201 :

There is a fellow to whome, because he dare
Not be a slave to greatnes, nor is molded
Of Court dow (*flattering*), . . .

The three succeeding lines in the above extract from *The Noble Soldier* are paralleled in *If this be not a good Play*, p. 275 :

Our Neapolitane youths (that day) shall try
Their skill in armes, *poore scorned Soldiers*
Shall not be suffer'd beg here . . .
. . . march hard to meete a wound
I'th very face, and even his heart-strings cracke,
To win a towne, yet not to cloath his backe :

whilst the last line, as modified by Day (*Bees*, p. 30),

A Taylor and a true borne gentleman.

recalls *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*, II. ii, p. 39 :

Let true born Gentlemen were Gentries robes.

Compare also the *Ile of Guls*, p. 5 ; *Ibid.*, I. iii, p. 19 ; *Law-Tricks*, I. i, p. 10.

N.S., C₃^v.-C₃^r.—The king now enters, and Baltazar gives a vivid and realistic account of the battle against the Moors. Day has not borrowed from this portion of the scene in *The Noble Soldier*, but any doubt as to Dekker's authorship is immediately dispelled when Baltazar's description is compared with a passage quoted by Collier from one of Dekker's tracts (now lost) entitled *Warres, Warres*.*

For the rest of *Char.* 4, Day is indebted to *The Noble Soldier*, IV. i., F₂^v.-F₂^r.

N.S., F₂^r :

*Three times that day (even through the jawes of danger)
Redeem'd me up, and (I shall print it ever)
Stood o're my body with Collossus thighes.*

Day has "bestrid My body with Colossus thighs" (*Bees*, p. 31). Compare, however, the following from the *Whore of Babylon*, pp. 204-5 :

that lustie sunne of Iove
That *twelve times* shewed himselfe more then a man,
Reard up two pillars for me, on whose Capitals
I stand (Colossus-like) striding ore seas.

Character 5

N.S., D₄^v.—Cornego informs Onelia that a poet desires admittance :

Corn. Here's a parcell of mans flesh has beene hanging up and downe all this morning to speake with you.

* Reprinted in *Non-Dramatic Works of Dekker*, v. 236-7.

One. Is't not some executioner ?

Cor. I see nothing about him to hang in but's garters.

One. Sent from the King to warne me of my death :

I prethe bid him welcome.

Enter Poet

Poet. Madam, my love presents this booke unto you.

Compare *Match Me in London*, p. 196 :

Val. Breake in fellowes.

Guard.

Ioh. 'Sdeath what are these ?

Val. Your Executioners appointed by the King.

Ioh. What booke's that they hold

This is no time for Dedications.

Val. That booke is sent in Love to you from the King

It containes pictures of strange sundry deaths

He bids you choose the easiest.

Compare also *Match Me in London*, p. 197 ; *The Honest Whore*, Pt. I., p. 56 ; *Ibid.*, Pt. II., p. 101 ; *Northward Hoe*, p. 45.

In the MS. (*Bees*, p. 32), the passage corresponding to the above extract from *The Noble Soldier* contains the following :—

St. Yes him *Dull ignorance*.

Serv. With Jack droms Intertainment, he shall dance
the Jigg calld beggers bushe.

Compare *Bees*, The Booke to the Reader (MS.), p. 8 :

Smothe-sockt Thalia takes delight to dance
& sing 'ithe scholes of Art ; *dull ignorance*
she slightlie scornes, . . .

and the description of Beggar's Bush in the *Peregrinatio*, pp. 73-4.

Day has expanded in the quarto Dekker's lines and his own MS. draft :

He's *poore* : that proves his high things scorn
Mundane felicitie, disdaines to flatter
For empty ayre or like *crow poets* chatter
For great mens crums.

"Crow-poets" (a rare compound) and poverty are also associated in the *Peregrinatio*, p. 68 :

Manie such *poore* knights (quoth *Necessitas*) come to my cave in an adge and are glad of far meaner Emploiments . . . : manie *Crow-poets* and poetick pie have since his time bene my pupills and stil wilbe.

and *Ibid.*, Dedication, p. 37.

Bees, pp. 34-5. From "You are not noble" to "Righted by

Poets," Day now adds about twenty lines of his own composition which find no counterpart in *The Noble Soldier*.

You are not noble thus to wound the heart,
Tear and make *martyrs of the limbs* of art,
Before examination.

Compare *Bees*, The Booke to the Reader (MS.), p. 9 :

Quite through read me,
Or 'mongst wast paper into Pastboard knead me ;
Martir my limbs, . . .

N.S., D₄^r. Dekker's hand is clearly discernible in Onelia's conversation with the Poet.

Day has "A corde to draw bloud" (*Bees*, p. 35), but "A whip to draw blood" is characteristic of Dekker. Compare *The Whore of Babylon*, p. 215 :

others likewise there be of this consort last named, that are like *Beadles* bribed,
they whip, but draw no blood, and of these I have a Rime.

and *The Honest Whore*, Pt. II., p. 167 ; *Rod for Runaways*, p. 278 ; *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, p. 266.

Day has substituted "lance wide The wounds of mens corruptions" for "lanch wide The sores of mens corruptions," which is by Dekker. Compare *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, Epistle Dedicatory, p. 179 :

Some perhaps will say, that this *lancing* of the pestilent sores of a Kingdome so openly, may infect those in it that are found.

"And crowne thy verse with Bayes" is almost paralleled in Dekker's *Satiromastix*, p. 245 :

we envy not to see
Thy friends with Bayes to crowne thy Poesie.

Day's line reads : "Ile crowne thy paines with gold," suggested perhaps by a line from Onelia's final speech in the same scene (N.S., Er^r) : "I Crowne thy lines with Bayes, thy love with gold."

N.S., Er^v : "How might I reach a lofty straine ?" etc. From this point onwards to the end of the scene Day has considerably amplified Dekker's lines both in the MS. and quarto of the *Bees*.

One line from *The Noble Soldier* can be paralleled in Dekker's works :

Opinion is my Evidence, Judge, and Iury.

Compare *The Witch of Edmonton*, p. 411 :

Be quiet, for thou my evidence art,
Jurie and Judge ; . . .

In the *Bees* (p. 38), to Iltriste's question as to how she might "hit the Mr. vaine Of Poesie," the Poet (Day) replies with a method, which, though primarily the product of his imagination, he attributes to Persius :

I descend from Persius.
He taught his pupils to breed Poets thus :
To have their temples girt and swadled up
With night-caps ; . . .
Then drink nine healths of sacred Hippocreene
To the nine Muses.

There are three other allusions to Persius in Day's works : *Peregrinatio*, Dedication, p. 37 ; *Ibid.*, p. 68 ; *Bees*, To the Impartial Reader.

For "sacred Hippocreene," compare the *Bees*, The Booke to the Reader, p. 8 : "About the Fount of sacred Hippocreene."

A slight alteration in one of Dekker's lines to :

Proud flies, *swolne big* with breath and windy praise.

is indicative of Day's hand. Compare *Ile of Guls*, II. iii, p. 41 :

My thoughts come like a saile afore the wind, *swolne big* with newes.

and *Law-Tricks*, I. i, p. 5.

A line in the MS., p. 39, added by Day, reads :

Flagg lowe like Kites, the smaller mount on tres.

Compare the *Ile of Guls*, III. i, p. 63 :

A Lovers thoughts must be ambitious
And, like the Eagle scorning the bace ayre
Where Kites and Crowes lie flagging, mount the cleare
Skie of Invention, . . .

Consider also the following passage from the *Bees*, p. 39 :

Iltr. Who is the best Poet ? *Poet.* Emulation ;
The next Necessity ; but Detraction
The worst of all. *Iltr.* Imagine I were one :
What should I get by't ? *Poet.* Why, opinion.
Iltr. I've too much of that already ; . . .
Opinion has betraid me to the furie
Of vulgar scandall ; . . .

Note that Day has substituted "Detraction" for "Selfe-love" (*N.S.*, *Er.*) in the second line, and that his words are infinitely

stronger than those of Dekker's. Other utterances by Day on Detraction and Opinion are in direct consonance with the acerbity of the passage in the *Bees*, and are expressive of his impatience of both abuse and adverse criticism. Compare the *Bees*, The Authors Commission, p. 8; The Booke to the Reader, pp. 8, 9; *Char.* 1 (MS.), p. 17; *Ile of Guls*, Prologue, p. 8.

Characters 6 and 8

It would appear from the MS. that Day intended some connection between *Chars.* 5, 6, and 8, as Stuprata is one of the dramatis personæ in all three. In the revised copy, however, Iltriste is substituted in *Char.* 5, and Arethusa in *Chars.* 6 and 8. The Stuprata of *Char.* 5 (MS.) really corresponds to Onelia (in *The Noble Soldier*), who, contracted to the king of Spain by whom she has had a child, is forsaken for a Florentine lady, afterwards queen. In the quarto Day omits the MS. passage (*Bees*, *Char.* 5, p. 36), which adds greatly to the elucidation of the text by explaining why Iltriste is anxious for the composition of a tart satire directed against the Master Bee, viz. she has been separated from her lover and has succumbed to the wiles of the Master Bee, subsequently (as is recorded in *The Noble Soldier*) to be deserted. Thus the argument, prefaced to the MS. version of *Char.* 5, reads :

Stuprata, by a willing force
having indurde a wisht divorce
repents, and to revenge would fly
upon the wings of Poesy.

In *Char.* 7 of the MS., corresponding to *Char.* 6 of the quarto, the story is continued, Rivalis (Ulania) recounting to the disguised Stuprata (Arethusa) the virtues of the love-lorn Relictus (Meletus), and the constancy of his affection amidst trial and tribulation. The conclusion of the colloquy in the MS., however, differs considerably from that of the quarto, for Stuprata vows to leave "the blossomd braverie o'th court" for the "bare and laweles commons," and to seek her lover in a last endeavour to regain his affection.

He seeke him out (nees mourning in the grove)
& either loose my life or wyn his love.

Char. 10, MS. (*Char.* 8, 4to) records a conversation between the disguised Stuprata (Arethusa) and Relictus (Chariolus).* The latter is well-nigh distracted when he is falsely acquainted with the

* Meletus and Chariolus in the quarto are evidently one and the same.

lady's supposed death, and the penitent Stuprata is made conscious of the martyrdom of his soul and of the injury she has wrought both to herself and to him.

If, therefore, the scenes in the MS., corresponding to *Chars.* 5, 6, and 8 of the quarto, are pieced together, we have, in an almost unbroken narrative, several episodes from the life of Stuprata, who, in *Char.* 5, at least, is the Onelia of *The Noble Soldier*. We are now in a position to ask ourselves the following question: Was there another play, presumably the joint work of Dekker and Day, which contained Onelia's lover as one of the dramatis personæ, an account of her seduction by the king, her intense hatred of the seducer, her deep repentance for the desertion of her lover, her subsequent flight from court, with perhaps the lover's forgiveness and a final reunion after the poisoning of the king by means of a Spanish fig? Was this the plot of *The Spanish Fig* revised afterwards as *The Noble Soldier*, and was the former consulted by Day when he prepared the MS. prior to the publication of the latter play in 1634? If my surmise is correct we should not then be surprised at the links between *Chars.* 5, 7, and 10 of the MS. (*Chars.* 5, 6, and 8, 4to), before all mention of Stuprata's infidelity had been deleted in the quarto. I should not wonder, too, if Day were not indebted to *The Spanish Fig* for *Char.* 4 of the MS. The MS. and quarto versions of this *Character* differ only slightly, but the "curious abruptness" of the first eight lines (lines which may have been added by Dekker when he revised *The Spanish Fig* for *The Noble Soldier*) is absent from the MS. Baltazar's opening speech (q.v. *N.S.*, C2^v.) may have occupied in *The Spanish Fig* its present position in the *Bees*, and from the fact that *Char.* 4 is based upon portions of *two* scenes in *The Noble Soldier*, one can perhaps conjecture that in *The Spanish Fig* these parts formed one scene and one continuous episode as in the *Bees*.

So far, Day's authorship of *Chars.* 6 and 8 has never been questioned, but there is one passage in *Char.* 8 (p. 53) which is strongly reminiscent of Dekker:

*I'll have that sigh drawne on a charriot
(Made of the bones of lovers who have cri'd
Beaten their breasts, sigh'd for their loves and dy'd).* . . .

Compare *Lust's Dominion*, v. v, p. 183: *

*I will have a chair
Made all of dead men's bones.*

* Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xiv.

and *Ibid.*, v. vi, pp. 187-8 :

Now tragedy, thou minion of the night,
Rhamnusia's pew-fellow, to thee I'll sing
Upon a harp made of dead Spanish bones.

Day may have borrowed the idea either from *Lust's Dominion*, probably to be identified with *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* (Henslowe's *Diary*, February 13, 1599-1600) by Day, Dekker, and Haughton, or from Dekker's *Seven Deadly Sins of London*, where seven chariots are described in a manner appropriate to their respective sins.

In *Char.* 8 I have been unable to discover any significant parallels with either Dekker's or Day's works, though, on account of its general similarity in tone and diction to *Char.* 6, its attribution to Day is not likely to be questioned. Day's hand is much in evidence, however, in *Char.* 6.

MS., p. 41 :

Cause in loves spheare theres no star shin's above him—
he is Cupid's altar, and before him lyes
ten thousand bleeding harts as sacrifice
There a milde Majestie throand in his browes
at ech haire on his head a Cupid growes
whose little fingers (curling Golden wyer)
make amorous nets to Intangle chast desier

Love's Chronicle is peinted on his cheke,
where lillies and freshe Roses spread so highe
as Death himeslf to se them fade would dye.

Compare *Peregrinatio*, p. 48 :

Her roseate lipps may not unfittly be comparde to Love's alters upon which a thousand bleedinge harts were howerlie sacrificed.

and the *Ile of Guls*, v, p. 94 :

Each tree and shrub were tramels of thy haire,
But these are wiers for none but kings to weare ;

"Lilies" are associated with "roses" three times in the *Peregrinatio*, pp. 50, 65, 80.

MS., p. 44 :

she's alone
the *Primum Vivens* of my actions, . . .

Compare the *Peregrinatio*, p. 55 :

And as in the body of man the hart is *primum vivens*. . .

On p. 44 of the 4to, "damaske roses" has been repeated from

Char. 1, p. 11, whilst "Rose buds and blowne Eglantine" (MS., p. 45) can be paralleled in the *Peregrinatio*, pp. 45, 47.

With regard to *Chars.* 4, 5, 6, and 8 of the quarto, we are therefore led to the following conclusions :

(1) The MS. version of these *Characters* was probably founded upon *The Spanish Fig*.

(2) Day drew freely on two of Dekker's scenes in *The Spanish Fig* for *Chars.* 4 and 5 of the MS.

(3) *Chars.* 7 and 10 of the MS., corresponding to *Chars.* 6 and 8 of the quarto, are based upon scenes which Day himself contributed to *The Spanish Fig*.

(4) *Chars.* 4 and 5 of the quarto represent a revision by Day of *Chars.* 4 and 5 of the MS., after he had access to *The Noble Soldier* which is a revision by Dekker of *The Spanish Fig*.

(5) *Chars.* 6 and 8 of the quarto are a revision by Day of *Chars.* 7 and 10 of the MS.

Characters 2, 3, 7, 9, and 10

These *Characters* have suffered considerably less in revision than the previous ones under discussion, but there is one passage in *Char.* 2, p. 19, corresponding to the following extract from *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, p. 233, which seems to indicate that Day was working upon *Come See a Wonder*, when he composed the MS. version of this particular *Character*.

Mont. Why to your house adde you so many gates ?
Gent. My gates fill up the number of seven days,
At which, of guests, seven severall sorts Ile welcome :
On Munday, Knights whose fortunes are sunke low ;
On Tuesday, those that all their life-long read
The huge voluminous wonders of the deepe,
Sea-men (I meane) and so on other dayes,
Others shall take their turnes.

Now what is peculiar about these lines is that though Gentili mentions "guests, seven severall sorts," he only gives us definite information of those who will be admitted on Mondays and Tuesdays. One wonders, therefore, whether *Come See a Wonder* spoke of the the other five, as Day in the MS. and quarto of the *Bees* completes the program for every day of the week. What is, however, interesting is that in a similar passage in *If this be not a good Play* (pp. 273-6), the king dilates at great length on how he will occupy his time each

Tuesdaies wee'le sit to heare the *poore-man's* cryes,
Orphans and *widowes* :

on Saturdayes Ile make
Feasts for *poore* Bees past labour, *Orphane* frie
And *widdowes* ground in Mills of usury :

(1) in one weeke he ate
My wife up, and three children, this christian Iew did

in one month eat three
Of my poore *fry*, besides my wife :

To this Autume Woodfare, Alias Kingdomes rot,
I pawnd my weapons, to buy course brown bread
To feed my *fry* and me.

Justice against this Hypocriticall Knave,
This three-pile-velvet rascall, widowes decayer,
The poore *fryes* beggerer and rich Bees betrayer.

Wednesday will be devoted to foreign affairs, and Thursday to martial tournaments. Friday will be spent in the schools, Saturday will be dedicated to pleasure, and Sunday will be observed as a day of rest. Would it not be reasonable to infer from the above extracts that *Come See a Wonder* contained a couplet similar to the one quoted from *If this be not a good Play*, and that Day modified it so as to include the word " fry " in a manner analogous to the passages in *Char. 10* ? This, I admit, is pure speculation, but, as far as the quarto is concerned, evidence is not lacking to show that for all five *Characters* in this group Day was under an obligation to scenes contributed by Dekker to *The Wonder of a Kingdom*.

Character 2

W.K., p. 232. The description of Gentili's building leaves no doubt as to Dekker's authorship, when compared with the description of Sir Alexander Wentgrave's building (*Roaring Girl*, pp. 141-2).

Bees, MS., p. 18. The MS. has fourteen lines (deleted in the quarto) which are almost verbatim from *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, p. 233. One slight alteration by Day is noteworthy. Where Dekker has

*Rancor shall not then
Spit poyson at me, . . .*

Day has substituted *envy* in the first line.

Compare the *Ile of Guls*, v, p. 109 :

If you be pleased let *envy* do her worst,
Spit out her poyson or contain't and burst :

W.K., pp. 233-4 :

The windowes of my building, which each morne,
Are Porters, to let in mans comfort (light)
Are numbred just three hundred sixtie five,
And in so many daies the *sunne* does drive
His *chariot* stuck with beames of *Burnish't* gold.
My Almes shall such diurnall progresse make
As doe's the sunne in his bright Zodiack.

In the second line the appositional word in brackets is characteristic of Dekker. Compare *The Noble Soldier*, D1^v, H2^r.; *The Honest Whore*, Pt. II., p. 147; *If this be not a good Play*, pp. 310, 351; *Match Me in London*, p. 136.

The next three lines have been transplanted almost word for word by Day into the *Bees* (p. 20); but compare *Old Fortunatus*, p. 90 :

Accursed Queene of chaunce, what had we done,
Who having sometimes like young Phaetons,
Ryd in the *burnisht Chariot of the Sun*, . . .

The last line in the above extract from *The Wonder of a Kingdom* is rendered in the *Bees* by "With the free *sunne* in his bright *Zodiacke*." Dekker's authorship of the original, however, is apparent. Compare the following :

She (Horst, or Coacht) does merry iourneys make,
Free as the Sunne in his gilt Zodiacke :

The Honest Whore, Pt. II., p. 151.

Yet was he but the shaddow I the *sunne*
In a proud zodiacke, I my Course did runne.

Match Me in London, p. 160.

Enough? I will not weary thee, pleasures change.
Thou, as the Sun in a free zodiack range.

The Sun's Darling, p. 305.

Nowhere in Day's plays have I encountered a similar expression. I presume, therefore, that Day's adjective "free" before "sun" is pure coincidence.

W.K., p. 235. Montinello advises Gentili to take a wife, and he replies :

A wife ? when I shall have one *hand* in *heaven*,
To *write* my happinesse in *leaves* of *starres* ;
A wife wo'd plucke me by the other downe :

Compare *Satiromastix*, p. 197 :

for could we *write* on paper,
Made of these turning *leaves* of *heaven*, the cloudes, . . .

and *The Sun's Darling*, p. 304 :

One of my *hands* is *writing* still in *heaven*.

W.K., p. 235 :

My heires shall be poore children fed on almes,
Soldiers that want limbes, schollers *poore* and *scorn'd*.

Compare *If this be not a good Play*, p. 275 :

poore scorned Soldiers
Shall not be suffer'd beg here. . . .

W.K., p. 235 :

No subtile *trickes* of *lawe*, can me beguile of this.

"Trickes of law" becomes "law-tricks" in the *Bees* (p. 22).
Day composed a play with Wilkins entitled *Law-Tricks*.

Character 3

W.K., p. 249 :

. . . And shines there (say you) a Sun in our horizon full as glorious, as we
our selfe ?

Compare Dekker's *Worke for Armourours*, p. 105 :

A Kingdome is heaven, and loves not two suns shining in it.

W.K., pp. 249-250. The description of Torrenti's building is to be compared with that of Gentili's (*W.K.*, pp. 232-3) and of Sir Alexander Wentgrave's (*Roaring Girl*, pp. 141-2).

Bees, pp. 23-4 :

My great Hall Ile have pav'd with Clouds ; which done,
By wondrous skill, an Artificial Sun
Shall rowle about, reflecting golden beames,
Like Phæbus dancing on the wanton streames.
And when tis night, just as that Sun goes downe,
Ile have the Stars draw up a *silver Moon*
In her full height of glorie.

The fourth line is not found in *The Wonder of a Kingdom* and is an addition by Day. Compare the *Peregrinatio*, p. 47 :

. . . not much unlike the hot reflexion of the *sonn* in June playing the *wanton* upon the side of a hill or *danceing* and capring in the lap of a fruitfull vallye.

The "silver Moon," which has been repeated from *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, is characteristic of Dekker. Compare *Satiromastix*, p. 239 ; *Whore of Babylon*, pp. 195, 246 ; *Roaring Girl*, p. 180 ; *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, p. 224 ; *A Strange Horserace*, p. 324.

Bees, p. 24. Day now manages to weave into Dekker's description of Torrenti's building the story of Acteon and Diana :

When of the sudaine, listning, you shall heare
A noise of Hornes and hunting, . .
..... and there
Acteons hounds shall their owne Master teare, . . .

Compare the *Peregrinatio*, p. 47 :

. . . and round about it, in a border of golde, the story of *Acteon torne in peeces by his owne hownds*.

W.K., p. 250 :

1. *Gal.* The Lord Iacomo Gentili feeds
All Beggars at his table.
Torr. Hang Iacomo,
My boarde shalbe no manger for poore jades
To lick up provinder in.
2. *Gal.* He welcomes souldiers.
Torr. Let souldiors beg and starve, or steals and hange.

Compare *The Virgin Martyr*, p. 58 :

Har. . . . nor do I care
From what a lavish hand your money flies,
So you give none away, feed beggars.
Hir. Hang 'em.
Har. And to the scrubbing poor.
Hir. Ile see 'em hang'd first.

and *Ibid.*, p. 22 :

Therein thou shewedst thy self a perfect demi-Christian too, to let the *poor* beg, starve and hang, or die a the pip.

also *The Honest Whore*, Pt. II., pp. 116, 147.

W.K., pp. 250-4. The visit of Torrenti's brother to his more wealthy kinsman is completely omitted in the *Bees*.

W.K., p. 256 :

who bravely powres
But into a wenches lap his golden showres,
May be loves equall, . . .

Compare *Old Fortunatus*, p. 102 :

for Fortunatus hand

Can now *poture golden showers into their laps*,
That sometimes scorn'd him for his want of gold.

and *Ibid.*, p. 109.

W.K., p. 256. Dekker's "Alpine hills of silver" is repeated by Day in the *Bees* (p. 27). Compare from Dekker's works such similar expressions as "Two Hills of Silver" (*Dekker His Dreame*, p. 28) ; "hills of gold" (*The Dead Tearme*, p. 21 ; *Honest Whore*, Pt. II., p. 132 ; *Sun's Darling*, p. 303) ; "hills of Diamonds" (*Virgin Martyr*, p. 59).

Character 7

W.K., p. 263 :

Nico. Suppose all kingdomes on the earth were balls,
And that thou held'st a racket in thy hand,
To *tosse 'em* as thou wu'd'st, how wo'dst thou play ?
Tor. Why ? as with balls, bandy 'em quite away.
Nico. A tennis-court of kings could do no more.

Compare *Lust's Dominion*, v. v, p. 181 :

Methinks this stage shows like a tennis-court ;
Does it not, Isabel ? I'll show thee how—
Suppose that iron chain to be the line,
The prison-doors the hazard, and their heads,
Scarce peeping o'er the line, *suppose the balls !*
Had I a racket now of burnish'd steel,
How smoothly could I bandy every ball
Over this globe of earth, win set, and all.

also *The Noble Soldier*, D2^v., D3^v.

Day (*Bees*, p. 47) introduces a Latin tag—*ad placitum*. Compare the *Peregrinatio*, p. 60.

W.K., p. 263 :

Tor. Foole, I'll be
As the sun in the Zodiack ; . . .

Compare *Wonder of Kingdom*, pp. 233-4 (q.v.).

W.K., p. 264 :

Nico. 'Tis voic'd abroad thy lands are all at pawne.
Tor. They are, what then ?
Nico. And that the mony went to
Entertaine the Popes great Nuntio,
On whom you spent the ransome of a king.

In the following act (v. ii; p. 280) we learn that the prodigal is in dire distress :

why wonder fellow,

The brave mock-prodigall has spent all indeed,
He that made beggers proud, begs now himselfe for need,

It is to be observed that these lines, which are absent from both the MS. and quarto of the *Bees*, are from a passage that both Fleay and Greg think was added when *Come See a Wonder* was revised. As they can be paralleled in *If this be not a good Play* (p. 355), where Pluto questions Lurchall concerning an inmate of the lower world :

Plu. What was he when he liv'de ?

Lur. A prodigall :

Who (in one yeare), spent on whores, fooles and slaves,
An Armies maintenance, now begges for cromes, . . .

one can accord them with safety to Dekker.

W.K., p. 264 :

Goe, goe, idle droane,
Thou enviest bees with stings, because thine is gone.

Bullen quotes the above lines as characteristic of Day. There are, however, in Dekker's other works several references to bees. Compare *Honest Whore*, Pt. I., p. 50 ; *Ibid.*, Pt. II., p. 167 ; *Westward Hoe*, p. 298 ; *The Dead Tearme*, p. 24 ; *The Belman of London*, p. 157.

Character 9

I have found little to comment on in this colloquy. One line (*W.K.*, p. 270) is reminiscent of Dekker :

My health is bought and sold sir then by you.

Compare *The Sun's Darling*, p. 303 :

Thou (without whom they that have hills of gold
Are slaves and wretches) *Health that canst nor be sold*
Nor bought, . . .

Character 10

W.K., p. 267. The soldier enters and recognises the broker :

One that with Bills, leades smocks and shirts together
To *limen* close adultery, and upon them
Strowes *lavender*, so strongly, that the owners
Dare never smell them after ; hee's a *broker*.
Gent. Suppose all this, what hurt hath hee done thee ?
Soul. More then my limbs losse ; in one weeke he *eate*
My wife up, and three children, . . .

Compare *News from Hell*, p. 120 :

The sayle, two patcht winding sheets, wherein a *Broker* and an *Usurer* had bin laid for their *limen*, will last longest, because it comes commonly out of *Lavender* and is seldom worn.

and *If this be not a good Play*, p. 357 :

Courtiers from Naples hither in sholes are come,
Some for Ambition, for Flattery, and Envie some :
Some, *who (eache meale) eate subjects up*, and wore
Whole Families in their shoo-strings, . . .

Bees, p. 63. Here follow the six lines in the quarto which Fleay
and Chambers consider refer to Henslowe :

Imp. This Bee sucks honey from the bloomes of sin :
Bee't nere so ranke or foule, he crams it in.
Most of the timber that his state repairs
He hew's out o'the bones of foundred players :
They feed on Poets braines, he eats their breath.
Dic. Most strange conception !—life begot in Death.

W.K., p. 267 :

to this hell-hound

I pawn'd my weapons to buy browne bread
To feede my brats and me ; . . .

This corresponds to the *Bees*, p. 64 :

To this Autume *Woodfare*, Alias Kingdomes *rot*,
I pawnd my weapons, to buy course brown bread
To feed my *fry* and me.

Compare the *Bees*, *Char.* 11, p. 67 :

May the *Woodfare*, Coffe and *rot*
Dye or, living, hurt thee not :

and for Day's fondness for " fry," *q.v.* p. 297.

W.K., p. 268. The one-legged soldier says :

I must *bestirre my stumps* too.

Compare *If this be not a good Play*, p. 291 :

Sol. I am a Souldier.
Iou. We know that by your legges.
Sol. Does my stump grieve you ?
Bri. Not if you *bestir your stumps* nimblely sir.

(6) CONCLUSION

All that one can aspire to, in an attempt to solve problems of this type, is a high degree of probability. This is especially so in dealing with plays that have been lost, when conjecture, to some extent, presides over fact and imagination over reason. In the absence of any positive knowledge as to the contents of *The Spanish Fig* and *Come See a Wonder*, my surmise that Day was indebted to these plays for the MS. copy of nine of the *Characters* in the *Bees*

must, naturally, remain a mere theory. Far otherwise, however, is it with the quarto. There, *Chars.* 4 and 5 and *Chars.* 2, 3, 7, 9, and 10 seem to have been lifted almost bodily—in some cases with only slight modification—from *The Noble Soldier* and *The Wonder of a Kingdom* respectively. Where the quarto of the *Bees* corresponds to passages in these plays, Dekker's craftsmanship is nearly always distinguishable; where it deviates, Day's hand is equally well marked. The modern mind recoils at the thought of a writer who filches from another without acknowledgment, but in the Elizabethan era literary obligations were not nearly so well defined, and what is now understood by plagiarism had then a totally different significance. Few critics, however, will deny that the best of these twelve scenes are those which are the product of Day's own native genius: *Chars.* 6 and 8, the former of which Mr. Arthur Symonds* terms "one of the loveliest pastorals in our language, a little masterpiece of dainty invention, honey-hearted and without a sting," and *Chars.* 11 and 12, "the best evidence left us," says Swinburne,† "of Day's especial and delightful gift; fresh, bright, and delicate as the spirit and the genius of the poet and critic who discovered him, and gave his modest and gentle name the imperishable and most enviable honour of association with the name of Lamb."

THE NOBLE SOLDIER AND THE WELSH EMBASSADOR

THE Editor has asked me to append to Mr. Golding's article some remarks on the hitherto unnoticed relationship between *The Noble Soldier* and *The Welsh Ambassador*, since the knowledge of this curious connection may help in solving the problems of date and authorship of the first-named play. Incidentally, it affords yet another example of the ruthless and disrespectful usage to which the old plays that we now treat so reverently were subjected in their own day, and often by their own authors.

If *The Noble Soldier*, as its title-page states, was really written

* *Nero and Other Plays* (Mermaid Series), 207.

† *Contemporaries of Shakespeare*, 231.

by "S. R.," that writer possessed an almost incredible aptitude for assimilating Thomas Dekker's style and vocabulary even to the minutest tricks and mannerisms. Following A. H. Bullen, however, I believe the play to be largely Dekker's work; and, though there is but a single shred of external evidence for it, I think that Dekker had also considerably more than "a main finger" in *The Welsh Ambassador*.*

This anonymous play, which was probably written and acted in 1622 or 1623, closely resembles *The Noble Soldier* in its subject, its plot, several of its chief characters, and—to a considerable extent—its phraseology. So close indeed is the kinship as almost to recall the somewhat later case of Suckling's tragedy of *Aglaura*, which its author provided with a "happy-ending" last act as an alternative. For here too the main difference in outline is, that while *The Noble Soldier* ends in huddled tragedy *The Welsh Ambassador* ends in muddled comedy. The main difference in detail—apart from such trifles as a "Spanish" or an "English" setting—is that nearly a third part of the latter play is in prose, most of which is devoted to the wretched farce of sham foreigners and the clown, with little or no bearing on the development of the plot; whereas this dreary comedy of disguises finds no place in *The Noble Soldier*.

Lack of space forbids a detailed comparison of the two plays, but as regards their plot and characters the following points may be mentioned as common to both:

(1) The Sanctity of Troth-plight is the main theme. The wicked King has broken his troth to a noble Lady who is the mother of his son. This son, now several years old, is called by him a "bastard," but is regarded by the nobles of the Lady's party as the rightful heir to the throne.

The King in general coarseness of texture and style is closely related to the Spanish King in Dekker's play *Match me in London*. Early in the action he robs the deserted Lady of her marriage contract by means of a dastardly trick, in which he uses his highest churchman as an unconscious accomplice.

(2) The wronged Lady, though forlorn and disheartened, is much given to "railing" and "scolding" at her betrayer.

In the Spanish play she enrages the King by shewing him a defaced picture of himself. This episode appears in much altered form in the "Welsh" play.

(3) The *Clown*—an important character—is the servant of the King's "Concubine" (the betrayed Lady).

* The grounds for this ascription I hope to publish ere long in a detailed discussion of the authorship and text of *The Welsh Ambassador*.

(4) The blustering but soft-hearted Noble Soldier (called "Honest Soldier" in the Welsh play) just returned from the wars "overgrown with hair," after privately rating the King for his misdeeds, visits the Lady and henceforth devotes himself to her service. He also takes charge of the boy-prince, producing him safely, at the proper moment in Act v., to touch his father's heart.

(5) A plot is laid, with the King's delighted consent, whereby the wronged Lady is to be flammed off with a marriage to a comic suitor—the fragmentary *Signeur No* in the Spanish play, the sham Welshman in the Welsh one.

(6) Her "faction" (kinsmen, the Soldier, etc.) seizes the opportunity of the marriage festival to attack the King and either kill him or bring him to book.

Noble Soldier (Act v.)

The Boy Prince *disguised as a Friar* is brought to court by the Soldier and himself gives his dying father the consolatory news that he has escaped the murder designed for him by the latter at the hands of the Soldier.

In this play the Prince is a mere cipher with very little to say or do.

Welsh Ambassador (Act v.)

The Boy Prince, brought to court by a *disguised Friar*, with the Soldiers' aid touches his father's heart and helps to bring about a happy solution; while the King is cheered by the news that the Soldier has not murdered his rival as the royal instructions had bidden him.

In this play the part of the Prince has been much worked up, and is of some importance in the action.

Leaving aside mere paraphrases, there are many passages (including at least one rimed couplet) which occur almost *verbatim* in the first two Acts of both plays. These comprise about 110 lines of prose and verse numbered in the only existing edition of *The Welsh Ambassador*:* 245-50, 360-1, 386-412, 490-1, 528-30, 550-75, 619-20, 639-44, 661-712.

They include some ten fragmentary lines which can be almost with certainty correctly completed from *The Noble Soldier*, namely, ll. 567-70, 640-2, and 702-4. All these are more or less badly mutilated in the MS., e.g. l. 642 consisting of less than one word.

A passage in *The Noble Soldier* (Sig. D1^v): ". . . The Burre that stickes in your throat is a *throane*," also serves to correct what is probably a scribe's error in l. 676 of *The Welsh Ambassador*, which has (quite pointlessly) "the burr that sticks in your throate is a

* Edited by H. Littledale and W. W. Greg from the MS. in Cardiff Public Library. London, 1921 (title-page dated 1920), issued for the Malone Society.

thorne," in the same connection, where "throne" is the word required.

In addition to these identical passages the two plays abound in similarities of idea and phrasing, though the phrases often occur in quite different collocations; and in reading either of them we are constantly coming upon traces of the other's vocabulary. Lastly, the number of rimed lines—about eighty, if songs, poems, etc., be excluded—is almost the same; and though *The Welsh Ambassador* is by far the longer play, yet in view of the abundant prose and mutilated verse-lines that it contains, its proportion of rime to blank verse is much higher than at first sight appears.

In short, it is evident either that one of these pieces was founded upon the other, or both had a common basis in an older, third play. But *The Noble Soldier*, even in the "revised" and probably curtailed state in which it survives, seems clearly older in style than *The Welsh Ambassador*,* much of which, moreover, is mere jerry-building.

The first supposition is therefore the likelier, and if correct would at any rate provide a fairly safe downward limit for *The Noble Soldier* at least ten years earlier than its published date of 1634.

On the other hand, it is possible that *The Welsh Ambassador* incorporates material from some other earlier play, in addition to that taken from *The Noble Soldier*. But that possibility need not now be discussed.

BERTRAM LLOYD.

* Though the grounds for identifying it with the yet older *Spanish Fig* of Henslowe's *Diary* are by no means conclusive.

RHYTHM IN THE PROSE OF SIR THOMAS BROWNE

BY NORTON R. TEMPEST

Verse is but an ornament, and no cause to poetry, sith there have been many most excellent poets that never versified.—SIDNEY.

THE critical literature which has gathered round the works of Sir Thomas Browne comprises less than might be expected in the way of detailed study of his prose-rhythm. It is true that the precise investigation of cadence and prose-rhythm has, in general, only been pursued during comparatively recent years; yet Browne's work, the type of all that is most attractive and satisfying in English prose of the "sumptuous" order, might already have seemed to merit more in this way than the short but excellent analysis in Professor Saintsbury's *History of English Prose Rhythm* (1912) and the few pages at the close of Mr. Anderton's essay on Browne;* and there would appear to be some place for an attempt like the present to suggest directions in which the available criticisms might be amplified.

No detailed analysis of Browne's prose-rhythm can be attempted here. The main features which become evident from such an analysis alone can be presented, together with short illustrative extracts. But, first, the principles of scansion and prose-rhythm which I have adopted will need to be explained. Since the personal factor must necessarily intrude, and it is possible to disagree as to the disposition of accents in a given phrase, the scansion of the passages is not rigid. I do not think that this will seriously impair the results obtained.

I have avoided the use of "—" and "˘" owing to their very definite connection with quantity, substituting " / " and " \ " to denote strong and secondary stress respectively, whilst syllables

* In *Sketches from a Library Window* (1922). A useful study, though the musical system of scansion adopted by Mr. Anderton seems unsatisfactory.

of weak stress are either left unmarked (when the text is quoted), or are marked " × " (when quoted without the text). I have used the terms " iamb," " trochee," etc., purely for the sake of convenience, as they have no manageable alternatives in English; they must not be regarded as pre-supposing a quantitative system of scansion. I have made use of the terms *rising*, *falling*, *waved*, and *level*, rhythm, which Professor Elton defines as follows.* *Rising* rhythm " begins on an unaccented syllable, ends on an accented one, and contains only one accent " (e.g. iamb, anapæst, 4th pæon). *Falling* rhythm " begins on an accent, and has one or more unaccented syllables following " (e.g. trochee, dactyl, 1st pæon). *Waved* rhythm, " consisting of three syllables at least, begins and also ends on an unaccented syllable; accent occurs somewhere between " (e.g. amphibrach, 2nd and 3rd pæons, etc.). In *level* rhythm " the foot is wholly made up of accents, as in the monosyllabic foot, spondee, and molossus."

Prose-foot divisions, which, as Professor Elton points out, never cut across the words, I have marked by a vertical line, whilst a dotted line is used when they are in any way doubtful.

Cadence, or *cursus*, as distinct from prose-rhythm, presents greater difficulty. A brief explanation alone is possible here; further information may be obtained from Professor Elton's *English Prose Numbers*, and from Professor Clark's *Prose Rhythm in English* (1913), to both of which I am greatly indebted. Professor Elton defines the *Cursus* as " a name for certain sequences of feet, which come in emphatic places and are used because they are thought to be more beautiful and effective than others. . . . They are an effort to bring, not indeed any actual metre, but the metrical principle into prose; they are meant to recur, not at fixed intervals, but with fixed limits of internal variation, and to give the pleasure of law and order thereby." " The object of the *Cursus*," writes Professor Clark, " was to procure a smooth ending, or, as its name implies, a ' run,' " and they provide that element of recurrence necessary to all rhythmical movement. According to Professor Clark their origin is to be found in the practice of certain Greek and Latin writers; " whenever the speaker paused to draw fresh breath, he punctuated by a *numerus*, or cadence."

Three or four chief types have survived and are to be found in English prose in their original, or in a modified, form. They

* " English Prose Numbers " in *A Sheaf of Papers* (1922).

are *planus*, *tardus*, *velox*, and an unnamed form, whose English equivalents are 'x'x', 'x'x'x', 'x'x'x'x', and 'x'x'x'x'x', respectively. Other cadences occur, similar in movement to these, which may be regarded as extensions.* Owing, however, to its large number of monosyllables, the Saxon element in English is not suited to the formation of the classical *cursus*. Side by side, therefore, with these there are many cadences, quite different from the classical types, which may conveniently be regarded as *native*. The most important ones are of the type 'x'x' (4-1) and its extensions 'x'x'x', etc.; others will appear during the analysis. Many, but not all, native cadences end with a strong stress, whereas the classical *cursus* never do so. Since all cadences begin on a strongly stressed syllable, the numbers used to define the length of the cadence denote the position of the strongly stressed syllables counting from the *end*; thus 'x'x' 4-1, 'x'x'x' 5-2, "sweetest delight of gardens" 7-4-2, a *cursus velox*. For the sake of convenience, in the analysis native cadences are in heavy type, classical in italics, whilst heavy italic type is used for cases of the two crossing. When cadences of the same kind overlap, *i.e.* two classical or two native, footnotes are used to indicate the length of each separate cadence. For the notation used in describing the endings I am indebted to Mr. Croll's paper, *The Cadence of English Oratorical Prose* (*Studies in Philology*, University of N. Carolina, 1919).

In the same paper Mr. Croll writes, "The careful student of prose which has a markedly cadenced sound must be aware that this sound cannot be explained as due to the widely separated endings studied, for instance, by Shelly in the Collects. It must be due to cadences that occur with sufficient frequency to produce a pervasive and characteristic effect." Thus we hear at once both the rhythm of the actual prose feet and that of the larger groups, the cadences. According to Professor Elton, "cadence cuts, or usually cuts, the word; prose-rhythm, as I have sought to define it, does not cut them at all, and so normally does not coincide with the cadence. This crossing of cadence and prose-rhythm constitutes a beauty, when each effect is in itself agreeable . . ." from which we derive further satisfaction and pleasure. Moreover, the cadences

* 'x'x'x'x', 6-2, extension of *planus*.

'x'x'x'x'x', 7-3, extension of *tardus*.

'x'x'x'x'x'x', 8-4-2, extension of *velox* (not recognised in mediæval Latin, v. Croll).

themselves are often interwoven one with another, as in the following example quoted by Mr. Croll from Gibbon :—

The object of her own amazement (velox : 8—4—2) and terror (planus).

Mr. Croll also observes that "the effect due to a three-, four-, or five-syllable period followed by a two-syllable one, or of four syllables followed by three, seems to be constantly heard in all prose that is euphoniously and flowingly written." This phenomenon and its converse, increasing length of period, I have described by Professor Saintsbury's term *gradation*. I am also indebted to Professor Saintsbury for the expression *arch of the period*, the use of which will, I hope, be made clear below.

It is evident from his letters that Browne's natural style was neither ornate nor of great rhythmical beauty. This bare manner of writing also characterises *Vulgar Errors*. Of Browne's other works, the posthumous *A Letter to a Friend* and *Christian Morals*, although containing many excellent passages, are often faulty in their harmonies. They lack the author's final revision for the press. I shall, therefore, consider *Religio Medici*, *The Garden of Cyrus*, and *Hydriotaphia* or *Urn Burial* alone, as affording the best examples of Browne's prose-rhythm.*

Like Jeremy Taylor's, Browne's most numerous prose throughout shows a remarkable tendency to scan itself. The uncertain rhythm-groups of six or seven or more syllables which tend to break up in different places are more common in his less rhythmical prose. Browne's harmonies are, however, less hurried, and more stately and resounding than Taylor's. They have been written in the seclusion of the study, and their effect is less oratorical. It cannot be said that Browne's skill in rhythmical composition develops chronologically. There are good passages in *Religio Medici* as well as in *Hydriotaphia* or *Christian Morals*, their occurrence being regulated by the nature of the subject-matter.

As a general rule, it will be found that Browne's most abstract and meditative passages are the best from a rhythmical point of view. His rhythm soars with his fancy. *Religio Medici*, *Hydriotaphia*, and *The Garden of Cyrus* contain many long processions of splendid phrases. Chapter 5 of *Hydriotaphia* is, indeed, the supreme example of Browne's rhythm, and is probably unsurpassed for length and

* The Bohn edition (1852) is referred to throughout.

excellence by anything else in the language. The tone of *Religio Medici* is, on the whole, quite different from that of *Hydriotaphia*, whilst *The Garden of Cyrus* occupies a sort of intermediate position between them. The best simile I can find to express the difference is that whereby the music of *Hydriotaphia* is compared with that of an organ or a full orchestra, whereas the music of *Religio Medici* resembles that of violins alone, thinner and less sonorous. This latter cast of rhythm I have called, for want of a better name, *simple*, and the former, *intricate*.

The view that recurrence and variety are the two important principles of prose-rhythm is adequately supported by Browne's practice. He obtains variety in every possible way; by varying the prose feet and *cursus* themselves, by interchanging classical and native cadences, by constantly altering the length of his sentences, drawing them out and closing them again like telescopes, by interlacing passages of simple and intricate rhythms, and by mingling disyllabic and trisyllabic Saxon, with polysyllabic Latin words. Recurrence we find in his interweaving of the *cursus* and of native cadences, in correspondence of endings, in balancing the number of strong stresses in different clauses, and in his use of recurring similar rhythmical movements.

I. PROSE RHYTHM

(a) *Single Feet*.—The iamb and anapæst are particularly the staple feet of ordinary conversation, and their too frequent occurrence in numerous prose is always fraught with danger. We find, therefore, that in Browne's best passages he usually employs a large percentage of longer feet, feet of four or more syllables, and trisyllables with more than one stress. Indeed, in the hands of a master such as Browne, polysyllables are conducive to rhythm, and herein lies one of the main reasons for his choice of an Anglicised-Latin diction.

Of the longer feet Browne shows a marked preference for the third pæon and its kindred *ionic a minore* movement. This is especially marked in the numerous cadences of the type 5—2—1 ("dáy that mùst máke góod, -bútions in thís wórlð," "thís is that óne dáy," etc.) in the paragraph from *Religio Medici* beginning "This is the day." * Browne often makes striking use of combinations of feet similar to the following: xxx' | 'xxx or

* *R.M.*, I, xcvi. 1—11.

xx' | 'xx, etc. We also frequently find an amphibrach followed by a monosyllabic foot.

Although Browne's staple rhythm is *rising* or *waved*, he is fully alive to the beauty of trochaic measures, especially when inserted into passages of *rising* or *level* rhythm. A good example of this occurs in *Hydriotaphia* :*

But the iniquity | of oblivion | blindly | scattereth | her póppy.

Like most English writers, Browne seldom begins his sentences with a strongly stressed syllable ; his departures from this practice being usually made for emphasis. The following example from *The Garden of Cyrus* is exceptionally striking because each phrase begins with a monosyllable :

All things began in order, so shall they end.†

Browne usually takes great care to vary his prose feet. Thus, in the opening paragraph of chapter 5 of *Hydriotaphia*, with the exception of the monosyllabic "Now since these dead bones," only two feet of the same kind occur together, "to máke dúst of áll thíngs." The following sequence of disyllabic and trisyllabic feet shows skilful variation :

Gárdens | were befóre | gárdeners, | and búť sómé hóurs | áfter
| the eáর্থ. ‡

Occasionally, however, Browne's ear fails him, and we find passages which are too metrical in quality. It is noticeable that these are usually anapæstic or iambic. The following line of blank verse occurs in *Hydriotaphia* :—

Dárkness | and líght | dívide | the cóurse | of tíme. §

The anapæstic movement is rather too prominent in

I find nó | such effécts | in these drówsy | approáches | of sléep. ||

(b) *The Sentence*.—"In fully developed prose-rhythm," writes Professor Saintsbury, ¶ "a beginning, a middle, and an end are to be demanded and respected as impartially as in an Aristotelian tragedy." Browne takes great care of his "middles." *Gradation*, perhaps, represents his principal method of constructing them,

* *Hyd.*, ch. 5, Bohn III., 44. 14.

† *G. of C.*, ch. 1, Bohn II., 497. 21-22.

|| *G. of C.*, ch. 5, Bohn II., 565.

‡ *G. of C.*, ch. 5, Bohn II., 562. 28.

§ *Hyd.*, ch. 5, Bohn III., 45. 9.

¶ *Hist. of Eng. Prose Rhythm*, p. 458.

and is a prominent feature of his prose. One instance may be quoted from *The Garden of Cyrus* :

But the quíncunx | of héaven | rùns lów.*

He is also fond of giving an arch or pivot to the rhythmical period either by the juxtaposition of lengthening and shortening feet (e.g. $\times \times' | \times \times \times' | \times \times' | \times'$, etc.), especially with two consecutive stresses in the middle (e.g. $\times \times' | \times \times \times' | ' \times \times \times | ' \times \times$, etc.), or by arranging more or less corresponding feet on each side of a monosyllable which forms the pivot of the whole. If a monosyllabic pivot be used, it is usually a word of full resonant sound, such as "old" in this example from *Hydriotaphia* :

But mány | are tòò eárlý | óld, | and befóre | the dáté | of áge.†

Indeed, Browne's greatness lies in the single sentence rather than in the larger units of prose. Perhaps his finest sentence is to be found in *Hydriotaphia* : ‡

But *mán* | is a nóble | *ánimal*, | *spléndid* | in *áshes*, | and pómpous | in the *gráve*, | sólemnízing | *nativities* | and *deáths* | with équal | *lústre*,§ | nor omitting | *céremónies of brávery* | in the *ínfamy* | of his *nátüre*.

(c) *The Paragraph*.—In paragraph construction Browne's skill is not so remarkable. He is usually content to allow his sentences to combine of their own accord rather than set himself to construct a carefully worked-out paragraph. He does, however, occasionally do this and employs the usual devices. He does not go to extremes in writing long and short sentences ; a Macaulayan practice condemned by Professor Saintsbury as "excessive contraction and letting out, sending forth giant and dwarf, thus communicating the smack of cheap epigram." || He sometimes affects a pivotal arrangement of the same word or words, as in the paragraph already referred to from *Religio Medici* beginning "This is the day," in which he has skilfully avoided any over-metrical tendency.

II. CADENCE

The cadence of Browne's prose is remarkable and helps in the formation both of his "middles" and of his "ends." He shows

* *G. of C.*, Ch. 5, Bohn II., 562. 11.

† *Hyd.*, ch. 5, Bohn III., 42. 2.

‡ *Hyd.*, ch. 5, Bohn III., 47. 5-8.

§ Here are two overlapping native cadences "—tivities and deaths," "deaths with equal lustre." || Saintsbury, *History of English Prose Rhythm*, p. 460.

a marked preference for classical *cursus* or their approximations before the more important syntactical endings. Occasionally we find sentences in which the endings are mostly native, but these are comparatively rare. Added variety is secured by the intermingling of light and strong endings, that is, those which end with a weak, and those which end with a strong, stress respectively. These are often carefully balanced, thus giving a "law and order" to the rhythm without often being too closely correspondent, or too metrical in quality. In the following sentence from *Hydriotaphia* the major endings are native (4—1), native (4—1), classical (5—2), classical (6—2), and native (3—1), respectively.

That, in *stréwing their tómb's*, the Romans *affécted the róse*, the Greeks *amaránthus and mýrtle*: that the funeral pyre consisted of sweet fuel, cypress, fir, larix, yew, and trees *perpétually vérdant*, lay silent expressions of their *survíving hópes*.*

The careful adjustment of nouns is also remarkable here. Browne's keen sense of rhythm is constantly shown in such enumerations (e.g. "*hórror, féar, sórror, despáir*").†

The gradual dropping off of syllables from foot to foot in the endings is also a feature of Browne's prose, as, for example, in this sentence already quoted above:

But the quíncunx | of héaven | rùns lów.

Another favourite device is the withdrawing or advancing of the strong stress in consecutive feet:

Céramonies | of brávery | in the ínfamy | of his náture. ‡

Browne rarely makes the mistake of "conducting a phrase to an almost dying close, and then, as it were, rudely kicking it up again with an unexpected appendix."§ Occasionally, in the posthumously published works, his sentences drag on too long, but this is chiefly due to lack of revision.

Interwoven cadences are prominent in Browne's style. The following sentence is a good example ||:—

Líght | unto Plúto | is dárkness | unto Júpiter. | Légions | of séminal |
idéas | lie | in their sécond | cháos | and Órcus | of Hippócrates; | tíll |

* Hyd., ch. 4, Bohn III., 35. 11-15.

† R.M., I. xxxii. 15.

‡ Vide supra, p. 314.

§ Saintsbury, *History of English Prose Rhythm*, p. 193.

|| G. of C., ch. 4, Bohn II., 551, 1-5.

*pútting on | the hábíts | of their fórms, | they shów | themselves |
upon the stáge | of the wórld, | and ópen | dominíon of Jóve.**

It is noticeable that Browne often bases his sentence-rhythm on native cadences of the type 4—I.

III. RHYTHM, SYNTAX, AND SENSE

Throughout his prose we find that rhythm regulates Browne's syntax and choice of words. He makes use of the capacity of such words as "into" and "unto" to take the stress on either or neither syllable, and chooses, from the many alternative grammatical forms offered him by the chaotic state of the syntax of his time, the one which exactly fits his rhythm. For instance, during the seventeenth century the ending of the third person singular of the present indicative gradually changed from "-eth" to "-s." Both forms occur in Browne, and "the predominant cause of preferring one form to the other was, on the whole, the desire for melodious rhythm, including the avoidance of monotony and of too many sibilants."† The insertion of a particle for the sake of rhythm ‡ is to be found in the following sentence :

Yet they who shall live to see the sun and moon darkened and the stars *to* fall from heaven, will hardly be deceived in the advent of the last day.§

Here it would seem that Browne, having already made use of the effective clash of stresses in "*móon dárkened*," wished to avoid its repetition in such close proximity, and also to avoid the ugly combination of two monosyllables in "*stars fall*."

Always, in Browne's best prose, rhythm goes hand-in-hand with sense. When the mood is sombre and melancholy, the movement is stately and full of funeral pomp, whereas in his more fanciful moments it has an air of light whimsicality. His slow movements are skilfully obtained by the juxtaposition of strong stresses, or by

* The classical cadences overlap as follows : "Light unto Pluto," "Pluto is darkness," "darkness unto Jupiter," "Legions of seminal," "seminal ideas," "lie . . . chaos," "chaos and Orcus," "Orcus of Hippocrates."

Native cadences overlap : "—selves upon the stage," "stage of the world."

† *Hydriotaphia*, ed. W. Murison, Pitt Press Ser. (1922), p. xix.

‡ P. Fijn van Draat, *Rhythm in English Prose* (1910).

§ *L. to F.*, Bohn III., 65.

the use of numerous monosyllables, or by introducing trochaic, into passages of waved, rhythm.

As in all good prose, Browne's rhythm-groups usually coincide with his syntax-groups. When the sense is carried on from one phrase to the next he keeps up the pitch by the avoidance of a marked cadence until the end be reached. Thus, in the sentence

This is that irradiation that dispels the mists of hell, the clouds of horror, fear, sorrow, despair,*

by writing " dispels the mists of héll " the rhythmical flow is run on to the next series of nouns without appreciable pause, whereas by the substitution of an emphatic cadence such as a *planus* ("mists of Inférno ") these nouns would have suffered an unnatural separation from the preceding phrase.

Browne carefully adjusts his rhythm and cadence to give emphasis to any particular word or phrase. Thus, in the following sentence, the contraction of the last cadence, with its three strong stresses, serves to complete the assertion with an air of finality :

There is a nearer way to Heaven than Hómer's cháin ; an easy logick may conjoin a heaven and eárrh in one árgument, and, with léss than a sorites, resolve áll things to Gód.†

The different parts of Browne's most rhythmical prose are often balanced one against the other in numbers of strong stresses. This balance, a feature of most rhetorical and numerous prose, was considerably aided by his acquaintance with Latin and Greek. His constructions are, indeed, not usually highly Latinised, the exceptions being allowed for the sake of rhythm. Thus, he has been condemned for writing :

Than the tíme of these úrns depósiteɔ.‡

But here the end justifies the means, for the expression is beautiful in its compactness and in its cadence (8—5—3).

The above, then, are some of the features which appear from an analysis of Browne's prose-rhythm. Any attempt to express adequately the subtlety of his music is impossible ; it is endeavouring to define the undefinable. But so, in a high degree, is all literary

* R.M., I. xxxii. 15.

† R.M., I. xviii. 51-54.

‡ Hyd., ch. 2, Bohn III., 16.

criticism. It is largely an attempt to express, as well as possible, something which, in its very essence, is too subtle and elusive to admit of definition. Nevertheless, the beauty of Browne's rhythm justifies the closest scrutiny. "At its best there is I know not what excellence of sound in his language, a melody through which we seem to catch echoes of other-worldly music that lift the hearer into an ecstasy of admiration." *

* P. E. More, *Shelburne Essays* (6th Series), 1909.

THE DIALECTS OF THE WEST MIDLANDS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

BY MARY S. SERJEANTSON *

III

Tentative Assignment of Texts to the West Midland Dialect Area

Before discussing the provenance of the individual texts which have been assigned to the West Midlands, I will give a brief list of the dialect tests here employed, and the numbers by which I have referred to them in the following paragraphs.

(1) OE. \ddot{a} ; (2) OE. \ddot{a}^1 ; (3) OE. \ddot{a}^2 ; (4) OE. \ddot{y} ; (5) OE. $\ddot{e}o$; (6) OE. $\ddot{e}o$ before r +cons.; (7) OE. $\ddot{a}l$ +cons.; (8) OE. $\ddot{a}l$ +cons. + i , j ; (9) OE. $\ddot{e}ar$ +cons.; (10) OE. a +nasal (unlengthened); (11) OE. $\ddot{e}a$ + i , j ; (12) OE. $\ddot{e}ag$, $\ddot{e}ah$; (13) Infinitive; (14) Present Participle; (15) Past Participle; (16) 3rd Sing. Pres. Indic.; (17) Plural of Pres. Indic.; (18) Plural of verb "be"; (19) Fem. Pronoun of 3rd Person; (20) Plural Pronoun of 3rd Person.

The manuscripts to be discussed in this section range from the definitely southern *St. Brandan* (MS. Harley 2277) to the northern Ireland MS., and exhibit many varieties of dialect. The MSS. are roughly classified as South-West Midland, Central West Midland, etc., according to the more obvious characters of their dialects, and each is then dealt with individually.

A. South-West Midlands.

The salient features of the South-West Midland dialect have been discussed above. Apart from place-name evidence, our main sources of information with regard to the South-West Midlands are the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, and Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon*. Among the ME. MSS. whose dialects are obviously of the same general area as the texts just mentioned are MS. Harley 2277 (represented here by the legends of *St. Brandan*

* Continued from p. 203.

and *Beket*), the Laud MS. of the *Southern Legendary*, and the later MS. of *Lazamon*. All these have the characteristic southern inflexions: Infinitive in *-e*, *-i*; 3rd Sing. Pres. and Plural Pres. in *-eð*; Pres. Part., *-inde*; P.P. with prefix *i-* and ending *-e*. They all agree in having *u* for OE. *ǃ*.

Lazamon B (c. 1250).

The later MS. of *Lazamon* is in the Cotton collection: Otho C 13. The whole MS. is written in the same hand. The work is an abbreviated version of the early text of the *Brut* (*Lazamon A*). The dialect differs in many ways from that of the earlier MS., being decidedly more southern in character. Sir F. Madden, who edited both MSS.,* suggests that it was copied "on the Anglian border," perhaps in East Leicestershire. (Introd., pp. xxxvi, ff.). The reasons given for this opinion are (1) the use of *s-* for OE. *sc-* initially, (2) the occurrence of two *-es* forms for the 3rd Pers. Sing. of the Pres. Indicative. The first point may be put down to an Anglo-Norman scribe; the same spelling occurs in other southern MSS., such as the Jesus MS. I have noted occasional *-es* forms for the 3rd Sing. in Robt. of Glos.

The dialect of *Lazamon B* agrees with that of Trevisa and Robt. of Glos. in the following points: 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. Points in which the difference is probably chronological are Nos. 5 (*La3. B eo, e, u*; R. Glos. *e, u*), 9, 10, and 14 (final *-n* sometimes retained in *La3. B*). The *on*-type for OE. *a*+nasal (10) is found in Glos. place-names of the thirteenth century, though *an* is used also. With regard to No. 12 (OE. *ēag*), *Lazamon B* agrees with Robt. of Glos. in having no *i*-forms; Trevisa, sixty years later, has *i* as a rule, though occasionally the earlier *ey, egh*. For the Pres. Part., Trevisa has the modern *-ing*, Robt. of Glos. always *-inde*; *La3. B*, *-ende, -ing, -inde*. The difference in No. 19 (Fem. Pron.) is probably a matter of spelling; Robt. of Glos. has *heo* (also *3o*), Trevisa *hue*, *La3. B 3eo*. Each of these indicates a pronunciation [hø] or [hȳ]. The Gen. and Dat. Fem., and the Nom. of the Plural Pron. (3rd Pers.) are the same in all three texts (Gen. and Dat. Fem., *hire*; Nom. Plur. *hi*). For the Dat. Plural of the pronoun of the 3rd Person, Trevisa and *La3. B* agree in having *ham*—the unstressed form. *La3. B* has also *heom*, which corresponds to the later form *hom* in Robt. of Glos.

We are left, then, with three striking points of difference: Nos. 6,

* *Lazamon's Brut*. Ed. Sir F. Madden. Vols. I-III, 1847.

8, and 11. The unsmoothed forms *dorche*, etc., in *La3. B* compared with the regular *e* in Trevisa and Robt. of Glos.* indicate a more southerly area. Nos. 8 and 11 point in the same direction. The *u*-, *i*- types for OE. *ēa—i* occur more frequently in *La3. B* than in Robt. of Glos.; in this, *La3. B* agrees with Trevisa, who has almost always *u*. The *u*-, *i*- forms in No. 8 (OE. *æl—i*) are derived from a type with fracture. This type seems to be confined to the extreme south of Glos. *Lazamon B* has no *eld*-forms for No. 7 (unmutated *æ*l+cons.), which suggests that it is from an area whose dialect had the fracture-type in OE., but lost it in Early ME., though retaining the mutated forms *ul*, *il*. The fracture type was lost in EME. in South Glos. and North Somerset, but preserved in Wilts.

The text cannot, however, be assigned to an area in which OE. *ȳ* was unrounded to *i* regularly before a front cons., since the traces of *i* in this position are very slight in the MS. in question. This rules out most of Somerset and probably the greater part of Wilts., though it is possible that North Wilts. originally agreed with Glos. in retaining [ȳ] before a front cons., and that the *i*-forms spread from the south. The Mendip Hills seem to have formed the northern limit of the unrounded *i* (from *ȳ*) in Somerset.

All these considerations seem to leave a very small area to which *Lazamon B* may be assigned, namely, the extreme north of Somerset, or the extreme south of Gloucestershire. It might be suggested that the town of Bristol, on the borders of the two counties, was the place of origin of this MS.

Southern Legendary, 1280-90. (MS. Laud 108.)

The dialect of the Laud MS. of the *Southern Legendary* agrees in many ways with that of Robt. of Glos. and Trevisa. The chief points of agreement are Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. The differences in Nos. 5 and 12 are probably chronological (*S. Leg.* *eo* for OE. *ēo*; R. Glos. *e*, *u*. *S. Leg.* *ei3*, *ei* for OE. *ēag*; Trevisa *y3*, *ey*, etc.). In No. 11 (OE. *ēa—i*), the *S. Leg.* agrees with Trevisa rather than with Robt. of Glos.; the use of *uy*, *eo*, for OE. *ēa—i* is about as common in the *Southern Legendary* as in *Lazamon B*. The regular *eo* before *r*+back cons. indicates an area farther south than Robt. of Glos. or Trevisa. The traces of *-eld* for OE. *-eald*, however, seem to rule out South Glos. and

* Robt. of Glos. has *worc*, but *derk*, *herk*-; the *o* in *worc* may be due to some *w*-influence.

North Somerset. South Somerset is impossible, since there is no trace of *i* for *ȳ* before front cons. in the *Legendary*. The most probable area is North-West Wilts. This is not too far north for the occurrence of the unsmoothed type in No. 6, since this is found in Oxfordshire. There are fracture-forms in the *Malmesbury Register*, which has also *u* very often for *ȳ* before a front consonant, though *i* is commoner. The *Register* is, however, later than the *Legendary* (middle fourteenth century), and the *i*-forms may have come into the dialect of North-West Wilts. in the early fourteenth century.

We might perhaps suggest Malmesbury itself as the probable place of origin of the Laud MS. of the *Legendary*.

St. Brandan and *Beket*, c. 1300. (MS. Harley 2277.)

The legend of *St. Brandan* and the life of *Beket* are included in the Southern Legend Collection; the Harley MS. of this collection was written about 1300. The two legends which are taken here as representing the whole MS. are in the same dialect; minor differences are as follows: (4) *Beket* has *i* once for *ȳ*+front cons. (usually *u*); (6) *Beket* has *u*, *eo*, *e* (once each) for *eo*+back cons.; *St. Brandan* only *u*; (11) *St. Bran.* has only *u* for *ēa*-*i*; *Beket* has *u*, but *e* in *iflemmid*, etc.; this word does not occur in *St. Brandan*. The Feminine Pronoun of the 3rd Pers. does not appear in *St. Brandan*. The two texts are discussed together in the following paragraph.

The dialect of Harley 2277 resembles that of Robt. of Glos. and Trevisa in the following points: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11 (*u* almost always for *ēa*-*i*), 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. It agrees with them also in having *hī* for the Nom. of the Plural Pronoun (3rd Pers.), but has *here*, *hem*, for the Gen. and Dative. No. 6 (*u* for *eo*+back cons.) and 7 (*il* as well as *el* for *æl*-*i*) indicate a southern area. The dialect of Harley 2277 agrees with that of *Lazamon B* in almost every point. The differences are in Nos. 20 (*here*, *hem* in Harley, *ham* once in *Beket*; *heom*, *ham*, in *La3. B*), 13 (a few *-en*-forms in the Infin. in *La3. B*; only one example in *Beket*), 9 (*er* occasionally for *ear* in *La3. B*), 4 (traces of *i* before front cons. in *La3. B*; only *u* in *St. Bran.* and *Beket*). All these points of distinction except No. 4 are probably chronological. No. 4 puts Harley 2277 a little farther north than *Lazamon B*; if the latter belongs to Bristol, the former is probably from somewhere just over the Glos. border, between Chipping Sodbury and the Bristol Avon.

B. Central West Midlands.

Ancrēn Rīwle. ("Morton's Text." MS. Nero A xiv.)

The date of the Nero MS. of the *Ancrēn Rīwle*, the only one which has as yet been printed in full, is about 1230-50. The inflexions are those of the South, South-West Midlands, and Central West Midlands. The dialect agrees in many points with those of *Lazamon B*, *Southern Legendary*, and Robt. of Glos. The points of agreement, allowing in the case of Robt. of Glos. for chronological changes, are the following: 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 (Robt. of Glos. only), 12, 14, 15 (loss of final *-n* is later than *Ancr. Rīwle*), 16, 17, 18, 19. The difference lies in points 1, 6 (no trace of unsmoothed forms in *Ancr. Rīwle*), 9, 10, 11 (*e* always for *ēa-i*), 20 (*heo* for Nom. Pl. Pron.). These seem to be enough to rule out Glos. as the place of origin of the MS. Nos. 1, 4, 5, 10, 19, exclude the Central and East Midlands. The dialect of *Ancrēn Rīwle* agrees with that of *Lazamon A* in most of the points in which it disagrees with the Glos. dialect, namely, 6, 9, 10, 11, 20. *Lazamon A* has *e*, *æ*, more often than *a* for OE. *ǣ*, though the spelling is not so consistent as that of *Ancrēn Rīwle* (*e*). Apart from this, the chief distinctions between the dialect of *La3. A* and that of *Ancr. Rīwle* are the absence of *al*-forms for the *i*-mutation of *æ*l in *Ancr. Rīwle* and their occurrence in *La3. A*, and the slack *ē* for *ǣ*¹ in *Ancr. Rīwle* compared with the tense *ē* of *Lazamon*. This slack *ē* excludes almost all Herefordshire, the greater part of Worcs., and all Warwickshire north of Stratford-on-Avon. The absence of *al*-forms (No. 8) at this early date indicates an area south of the Avon. Since Glos. is rendered unlikely by the points discussed above, we are left with the south-east corner of Worcestershire. Either Evesham or Pershore seems to be a possible place of origin for the MS.; Evesham, which is actually south of the Avon, seems on the whole to be preferable.

The Katherine Group, c. 1230. (MS. Royal A xxvii.)

The legends of *St. Katherine*, *St. Juliana*, and *St. Marherete* are in MS. Royal A xxvii, in one hand, and in the same dialect. The inflexions agree with those of *La3. A* and *Ancr. Rīwle*. The text has the unstressed form *ha* very frequently for the Nom. of the Fem. Pronoun and the Plural Pron. of the 3rd Person. There are certain features in the dialect of the Katherine Group, as in that of *Ancrēn Rīwle*, that exclude the South-West Midlands as the place of origin of the MS.; these are Nos. 1, 6, 9, 10, 11. The Central

Midlands are ruled out by 5 and 8; South Worcs. probably by 2* and 8. The Kath. Group is distinguished from *La3*. *A* (North-West Worcs.) by points 9 and 12; *La3*. *A* has *ear*, *er*, far more often than *ar* for OE. *ear*; the Kath. Group has almost always *ar*; *La3*. *A* had diphthongized forms for Late O.E. *ēz*, *ēh*, Kath. Group only *e3*, *eh*.

If then we have to discard the Central Midlands and Worcs., there remains only Herefordshire, as the inflexions in the dialect of the text in question make its assignment to a more northerly area impossible. The MS. of the *Harley Lyrics*, probably written at Leominster about 1310, is eighty years later than the Royal MS. of the Kath. Group. The dialect of the former MS. agrees with that of the Katherine Group in having *e3*, *eh* for OE. *ēah* (No. 12), and in having *ar* for OE. *ear*. The place-names of Herefordshire have *er* as well as *ar* in the thirteenth century.

The dialect of the *Harley Lyrics* further agrees with that of the Kath. Group in points 2, 3, 4, 5 (*ue* as well as *eo* in *Harl. Lyrics*), 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19 (*hue* as well as *heo* in *Harl. Lyrics*). The differences in 1 (fewer *e*-forms in *Harl. Lyrics*) and 8 (*el* usually in *Harl. Lyrics*, *al* in Kath. Group). The consistent use of the suffix *-en* in the P. P. in the Royal MS. may be due to its early date. From the regular use of the *i*-prefix, we might regard this MS. as belonging to an area more southerly than that of the *Harley Lyrics*. On the other hand, we cannot put the Kath. Group farther south than Hereford, on account of the very small number of spellings with *v-* for initial *f-*; † Herebert has *v-* very frequently. On the whole, the most probable place of origin of the Royal MS. of the Katherine Group is North Herefordshire, somewhere between Hereford and Leominster, perhaps in the Bromyard and Bishop's Frome district.

Short Metrical Chronicle, c. 1340. (MS. Royal 12 C xii.)

The *Metrical Chronicle* in MS. Royal consists of 1037 lines in rhymed couplets. Rhymes of OE. *ȳ* with *i*, and of OE. *ēo* with *e*, indicate a Central or East Midland origin. The original version, however, cannot be assigned to an area very far north, since *æ*¹ rhymes with *æ*², and the latter with [ē] from OE. *ēa*. The dialect of the Royal version of the *Metrical Chronicle* agrees in many ways

* *St. Katherine* and *St. Juliana* apparently have a tense vowel for *æ*¹, since this vowel is distinguished from *æ*² by the spelling; *æ*¹ is almost always *e*; *æ*² is usually *ea*.

† *Harley Lyrics* have *v-* for *f-* rarely.

with that of Herebert. The points of agreement are Nos. 3, 4, 5 (rounded vowel for OE. *ēo*; *e* is the usual spelling, but *ue* and *eo* also occur), 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16 (a single *-es* occurs in rhyme), 17, 18. The occasional *e*-forms in No. 1 may indicate a rather archaic type of pronunciation; Herebert has only *a* for OE. *ǣ*, but *e* is common in the *Harley Lyrics*. Nos. 2 ([*ē*] for *ǣ*¹) and 15 point to an area rather south of that represented by Herebert; so also does 20, the frequent use of the Plural Pron. *hy*, as in the *Glos.* texts. The forms *heo* and *he* (as in *Harl. Lyrics*; cp. Herebert's *hoe*) are used in the *Chronicle* by the side of *hy*. The *Chron.* has *he* (4) and *heo* (1) for the Fem. Pron.; *Harl. Lyrics* have *heo*, *he*, *hue*.

The dialect is certainly that of the extreme south of the Central West Midlands. The occurrence of *wes* and *wet* (OE. *wæs*, *hwæt*) differentiates the dialect slightly from that of the *Ancren Riwele*, which has normally *a* for OE. *ǣ* after *w*.* If the latter is from South Worcs., then the *Chronicle* is probably to be assigned to the southern border of Hereford—the district of the lower Wye Valley and the Forest of Dean.

C. North-West Midlands.

Compassio Mariæ.

This is a fragment of forty-three lines preserved in MS. Bodley Tanner 169,* fol. 175. It was written soon after the middle of the thirteenth century. The MS. in which it is found was, in the fourteenth century, in the possession of the monastery of St. Werburgh at Chester. Fol. 175, however, did not form part of the original MS., but was taken from an old binding, which may have been the original binding of MS. Tanner itself.†

Professor Napier suggested, † mainly on linguistic grounds, that the poem was written in Cheshire, and perhaps in Chester itself. The dialect is clearly North-West Midland. This appears from points 4, 5, 10, 15, 16, 19. OE. *ȝ* (No. 4) is usually *u* in the Cheshire place-names of the thirteenth century; the *Compassio* has *u* in *burde* "birth," *kuinde*, *kuindeliche*; *i* in *birdinge*, *litel* (probably from Scand. *litill*), *sinne* (possibly through the influence of *-n*). There are traces of *u* and *o* for *eo* in the fourteenth-century Cheshire place-names; the text has *e* twice, *eo* twice, *u* once. The form *neh*, "near," perhaps points to Cheshire rather than to Staffs., where OE. *ēag*, *ēah* had been raised to *ī*, but the *Compassio* is rather too

* *Harley Lyrics* often have *wes*, *wet*.

† Napier, *History of the Holy-Rood-Tree*, p. 75. † E.E.T.S. 103, pp. 83-5.

early for this test to be decisive. The Cheshire place-names have *-egh* almost invariably for OE. *ēah*; the diphthongized form, *-eih*, *-ey*, is very rare.

St. Erkenwald, Fifteenth century. (MS. Harley 2250.)

The *Legend of St. Erkenwald* consists of 352 lines of alliterative verse. The dialect is North Midland; this appears from points 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20. The North-East Midlands, east of the Derwent, are ruled out by No. 4 (occurrence of *u* by the side of *i* for OE. *y*), 8, 10, 19, 20 (*hor* and *hom*). The absence of *payr*, *paym*, seems to indicate an area other than the extreme north of the North-West Midlands. The absence of *u* for OE. *ēo* perhaps excludes Shropshire and Staffs.; the former is also rendered unlikely by the consistent use of *ar(n)e* for the plural of the verb "be." From the absence of *i*-forms for OE. *ēah*, we might conclude that the MS. was not written in Derby or Staffs. The *egh*-forms of the text, however, correspond to the normal spelling of the Cheshire place-names: *Hegh*-, *Legh*, etc. As regards No. 5 (OE. *eo*), *u* and *o* forms are extremely rare in Cheshire place-names in any period, and I have noted none after the fourteenth century. The occurrence of *i*-forms for OE. *y* may be explained as the result of the influence of London English. The Cheshire place-names of the fifteenth century show traces of *i*, though the normal spelling is *u*. Cheshire seems the most probable place of origin of *St. Erkenwald*. The frequent use of *-es* (as often as *-en*) for the ending of the plural of the Pres. Indicative, points to the north or centre of the county rather than to the south; perhaps somewhere on the Mersey, between Chester and Northwich.

Lay Folks' Mass Book. (Gonville and Caius Coll. Cbg. 84.)

Very close to the dialect of *St. Erkenwald* is that of the *Lay Folks' Mass Book*. The MS. is of the middle of the fifteenth century. The West Midland features of the text are the occurrence of *on* for OE. *a*+nasal (18 *on*; 4 *am*), and the use of the pronouns *hor* and *hom*. OE. *eo* is always *e*. OE. *y* is *i* before *-n* and in *lytul*, otherwise the proportion is 7 *u*-forms to five with *i*. OE. *ēah* is *e* in *he* "high," *heley* "highly"; this seems to rule out Derby, Staffs., and perhaps Shropshire. The occurrence of *-eð* occasionally by the side of *-es* for the ending of the 3rd Sing. Pres. probably excludes Lancs. This point, and the use of *byn*, *ben*, as well as *aren* for the plural of "be," indicate an area a little south of that to which *St. Erkenwald* may be assigned. We might think of South Cheshire,

in the neighbourhood of Nantwich. The dialect is slightly more northern than that of Myrc, as appears from points 15, 16, 17.

Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight, and *The Pearl*, *Purity*, and *Patience*. (MS. Cotton Nero A X.)

The alliterative romance of *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*, and the three poems, *Pearl*, *Purity*, and *Patience*, have been preserved together in MS. Cotton Nero A X. All are in the same hand, which is of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The dialect of *Sir Gawayne* on the one hand, and that of the three Alliterative Poems on the other, are usually considered to be identical, and the whole group is therefore discussed at the same time. If the differences which occur are genuine, and not merely due to chance, they must be survivals from the original dialect of the poems, and suggest the possibility of the Allit. Poems having originated in an area rather to the east of that in which *Sir Gawayne* was written. The chief distinctions are: (1) a larger proportion of *an*-forms (No. 10) in the Allit. Poems than in *Sir Gawayne*; (2) the frequent use of *-es* for the ending of the Plural Pres. in the Allit. Poems, whereas it is rare in *Gawayne*; (3) the absence of the pronouns *hor* and *hom* in the Allit. Poems, except in the form *hores*, "theirs" (twice).

The West Midland features in the MS. are to be seen in Nos. 4, 5, 8, 10, 19 (*ho*), 20 (*hor*, *hom* in *Gawayne*). These points in the dialect of the MS. indicate an area west of the line Derby—Tamworth. The northern part of this area is indicated by the occurrence of *payr* (1) and *scho* (1) in *Gawayne*, *payres* (1) and *scho* (1) in Allit. Poems,* and also by the absence of the 3rd Sing. ending *-eð*. A striking feature of the dialect of the MS. is the frequent occurrence of *i* for OE. *ēag*, *ēah*: 52 *i*-forms to 24 *e3*-forms in *Gawayne*; 82 *i*- to 6 *e3*- in Allit. Poems. From the evidence of the place-name forms it would seem that EME. *ēi*, *ēh*, from OE. *ēag*, *ēah*, was retained in the dialects of Lancs. and Cheshire, but was raised to *i* in those of Derby and Staffs. If the place-name evidence is to be relied on, this makes the assignment of the Nero MS. to Lancs. or Cheshire rather doubtful. Staffs. seems too far south, and is rendered unlikely also by the consistent *u*-spellings for OE. *ȳ* in the Staffs. place-names, although the *i*-forms in the MS. may possibly be due to the influence of London English.

On the whole, Derbyshire seems the least improbable area to

* The ME. Yorkshire texts usually have *scho* for "she."

which the Nero MS. may be assigned, whatever the original dialects of the poems may have been. It is true that the proportion of *i*- to *u*- (for OE. *ȳ*) in the MS. is greater than in the Derbyshire place-names, but the disparity is less than in the case of Lancs., Cheshire, or Staffs. Traces of rounded forms for OE. *ēo* in Derbyshire are very slight, but such forms are by no means common in the Nero MS. The presence of *on* for *a*+nasal, and of *al* for the *i*-mutation of *æ**l*, indicates the western part of Derbyshire; and since a northern area is required, it might be suggested that the uplands of the Peak district is a not impossible region.

The Ireland MS.

The three metrical romances of *Sir Amadace*, *The Anturs of Arther*, and *The Avowyng of King Arther*, are extant in a fifteenth-century MS. at Hale, South Lancashire. The poems occupy folios 1-50 of the MS.; the remaining 40 folios contain records of the court of the Manor of Hale. The earliest of these records appear to have been entered in the year 1413; the romances were presumably copied into the MS. before this date. It is probable that the MS. had always belonged to the Manor of Hale, and that the poems were actually copied there. The dialect in which the romances are written is in favour of this presumption. The occurrence of *u* for OE. *ēo*, of *on* for OE. *a*+nasal (91 *on* to 19 *an*), of *al* for the *i*-mutation of *æ**l* (once; *el* twice), and of the pronouns *ho*, *hor*, and *hom*, indicate a North-Western dialect. The use of *thayre* by the side of *hor*, and of *thaym* by the side of *hom*, the regular *-es*, *-us*, in the 3rd Sing., and the absence of the *i*-prefix in the P.P., point to the northern part of the North-West Midlands. The absence of *i*-forms for OE. *ēag*, *ēah* (except once in *Avowyng*: *nyze*, "near"), enables us to assign the text to Lancs. rather than to Derbyshire. There seems to be no good reason for doubting that the MS. originated in Lancashire, where it still remains.

Liber Cure Cocorum and Boke of Curtasye.

These two documents appear together in MS. Sloane 1986 (c. 1460). The dialects of the texts in their extant form are almost identical. *Curtasye* has a rather higher proportion of *an*-forms for *a*+nasal (32 *on*: 15 *an*) than *Lib. Cure Coc.* (5 *on*: 1 *an*). The same text has one *y*-form for OE. *ēah* (to 10 *egh*-forms); *Lib. Cure Coc.* has 1 *e*₃, 1 *egh*. *Lib. Cure Coc.* has 3 *u*-forms for OE. *ēo*, and *Curt.* one *o*-form (*chorl*, OE. *ceorl*); both texts have *e* as a rule for this OE. diphthong. *Curtasye* has *-eth* twice in the 3rd Sing.

Pres. The rhymes in *Curt.* of OE. \bar{a}^1 with OE. $\bar{e}a$ and with \bar{a}^2 seem to indicate a southern origin; the *-eth* forms in the 3rd Sing., and the fairly frequent *an*-forms for *a*+nasal, may be explained in the same way.

Curt. and *Lib. Cure Coc.* agree fairly closely with *St. Erkenwald*, which I believe to have been written in North Cheshire. The points of agreement are: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20. Point 5 (*u* for *eo*) suggests Staffs. rather than Cheshire as the place of origin of the Sloane MS.* The occasional use of the *i*-prefix in the P.P., and the fact that the usual form of the plural of the verb "to be" is *ben(e)* more often than *ar(e)*, indicate an area rather more southerly than that of *St. Erkenwald*. The two texts may have been copied somewhere in North Staffs., quite possibly in what is now the district of the Potteries, in the neighbourhood of Stoke-on-Trent or Newcastle-under-Lyme.

William of Palerne, c. 1350. (MS. King's Coll. Cbg. 13.)

The romance of *William of Palerne* consists of 5540 lines of alliterative verse. The writer states that the poem was translated from the French at the instance of Sir Humfray de Boune, Earl of Hereford. There are certain features in the dialect of the MS. which are not known to have existed in combination in the dialect of any area. We find, for instance, that OE. \bar{a}^1 when shortened appears as *a*; this points to an area in which \bar{a}^1 became slack in ME. OE. $\bar{e}o$ is occasionally *u*. The *i*-mutation of $\bar{e}a$ is usually *e*, but once *u*: *hurd*, "heard." There are at least three examples of *-eld* for OE. $\bar{a}l+d$: *telde(n)*, "told," 1475, 1662, 2009 (unless we regard these as new formations from the Infinitive). The Pres. Part. has sometimes *-ind*. These considerations, taken together, point to a south-western dialect. The fact that OE. y +front cons. normally appears as *u*, indicates the South-West Midland rather than the South-West. The almost exclusive use of *ei*, *eizh*, for OE. $\bar{e}ag$, $\bar{e}ah$, (*i*z occurs twice), suggests Glos. rather than North Wilts. The presence of fracture forms makes it probable that the text was originally written in that part of Glos. which borders on Oxfordshire, where *-eld* was preserved until Late ME.

On the other hand, the Pres. Part. usually ends in *-and* or *-end*; the P.P. has the *i*-prefix only once, and often ends in *-en*, though normally in *-e*; the 3rd Sing. Pres. has *-es* more often than *-eð*;

* The form *Chori-* (as in *Curt.*) does, however, appear in Cheshire place-names at an earlier date.

the plural of the Pres. Indic. ends in *-en*, *-es*, and rarely *-e*; the plural pronoun of the 3rd Person is *pei*. The text cannot, however, be from the North-West Midlands, on account of points 8, 10 (on very rarely for *an*), 19 (*sche*, never *ho*), 20 (absence of *hor* and *hom*). OE. *ȝ* is *i*, *u*, and *e*; *i* and *e* are especially common before *-n*. Points 8 and 10 might, it is true, be put down to the original dialect of the text if this is South-Western, but 19 cannot be explained in this way. The occurrence of *u*-forms in No. 4, unless we consider them all survivals from the original dialect, seems to rule out Notts. and Lincoln. Apart from the traces of South-Western forms already mentioned, the dialect of *Palerne* agrees closely with that of the late fourteenth-century English documents in the *Chronicle* of Henry Knighton of Leicester. The points of agreement are Nos. 1, 3, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20. The *Leics. Chron.* has also Pres. Part. in *-ande* (once: *faylande*). The plural of "to be" is *ar(n)*, *ben*, in *Palerne*; in the *Leics. Chron.* *bene* occurs once. The place-names of Leics. have *u* fairly often for *y* by the side of *i*, though the *Leics. Chronicle* has only *i*.

It is possible that *William of Palerne* is a Leicestershire copy of an original written on the borders of Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire.

There are a few Middle English texts which are, as a rule, assigned to the West Midlands, but which, at least in their present form, do not possess a West Midland complex. Among texts of this kind may be mentioned the *Earliest English Prose Psalter*, *Sir Orfeo*, *The Parliament of the Three Ages*, *Winner and Waster*.

All of these texts agree in having none of the distinctively West Midland characteristics: OE. *ēo* is always *ē*; OE. *ȝ* is almost always *i*; *a*+nasal is *an*, *am*; the *i*-mutation of *al*+cons. is *-el*; the pronouns *ho* and *heo*, *hor* and *hom*, do not occur.

The complex of *Sir Orfeo* seems to be that of the Central Midlands. The rhymes show that the original dialect was of a slightly more southern type, though probably also of the Central Midlands. This probably explains the occurrence of the Pres. Sing. and Pres. Plural in *-ed*, in combination with the Pres. Part. in *-nd*, and the regular spelling *i* (very rarely *e*) for OE. *ȝ*. This vowel rhymes with Anglo-Norman *u* (*lite*: *fruite*). The Fem. Pron. is *sche*, *he*, and *hye*; the Plural Pron. is *pay*, *hye*, *he*; *her*; *hem*. The rarity of the *e*-forms for OE. *y*, slack [*ē*] for *æ*², and the Pres. Part. in *-and*, rule out Suffolk as a possible area.* On the

* See Wyld, *South-Eastern and South-East Midland Dialects*, p. 144.

whole, the most probable area to which the text in its present form may be assigned seems to be North Northants., though the evidence is neither full nor convincing.

The complex of the *Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter*, which combines Pres. Part. in *-and* with 3rd Sing. Pres. in *-eð* (very rarely *-es*) and traces of *-eld* from OE. *-eald*, seems to be that of the southern part of Northants.* The various pronunciations indicated by the spelling of the text are found also in Northants. place-names; the phonology and inflexions agree fairly closely with those of the *Peterborough Chronicle*.

The Parliament of the Three Ages and *Winner and Waster* are extant in MS. Brit. Mus. Addit. 31042 (fifteenth century). They have been ascribed to one author on account of similarity of form. The only differences in the dialects of the two poems are as follows: (a) *Winner* has *hye*, "high," once, instead of the usual *-egh*; (b) *Winner* has *-eth* very rarely for the ending of the 3rd Sing. and Plural; (c) the same text has *hir*, *hire* (once each) for "their" by the side of the normal *paire*; (d) the *Parliament* has once *aldeste*, "eldest," which may represent the West Midland *i*-mutation of *æ*l+cons., but is perhaps a new formation from *ald*.† The only other feature in the dialect of either poem (in its present form) which can possibly be regarded as West Midland is the occurrence of the spelling *bonke* (twice in *Winner*, once in *Parl.*), *frome* (three times in *Parl.*). Both texts have *an*, *am* as a rule: *man*, *name*, *kan*, *sanke*, etc.; also *banke*, but not *fram* (the word does not occur in *Winner*).

The other important features of the dialect (tense [*ē*] for *æ*¹; *i* for OE. *ȳ*; *e* for *ēo*; *scho* for "she"; *pay*—*paire*—*thaym* for the Plural Pron.), and the verbal inflexions (Inf. *-e*, rarely *-en*; Pres. Part. *-ande*; P.P. ending *-en*, no *i*-prefix; plural *-en*, rarely *-e*, *-es*; 3rd Sing. *-es*; Plural of "be," *ben*, *aren*), all suggest that the dialect of the poems as they now stand represents that of the North Central Midlands. Notts. is a possible county, and is near enough to the border of the West Midlands to account for the presence of the very rare *on*-forms for OE. *a*+nasal.

* See *English Studies*, Dec. 1924.

† The form *ald*, "old," does not occur in the text—*olde* only once; *halde*, *halden* are used by the side of *holde*.

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

THE DATE OF GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S HISTORY AGAIN

THE Reverend Acton Griscom, in an extremely interesting article on *The Date of Composition of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History* (1926, *Speculum*, i. 129), calls attention to the existence, in not less than seven MSS., of a strangely overlooked variant of Geoffrey's dedication. Two forms of this are already well known: (a) a single dedication, found in the great majority of MSS., to Robert Earl of Gloucester; (b) a double dedication, known only in *Bern Stadtbibliothek MS.* 568, of which the first member follows the wording of (a), but addresses it to King Stephen instead of to Robert, while a second member in different wording is addressed to Robert as "altera regni nostri columna." Mr. Griscom's variant (c) is also a double dedication. It uses, with slight adaptations, the wording of (b), but here the first member is addressed to Robert, and the second to a third dedicatee, Waleran de Beaumont, Count of Meulan. There is nothing of King Stephen. Mr. Griscom has come to the conclusion that (c) was the original dedication, written to Robert and Waleran when they were joint supporters of Stephen's kingship early in 1136, that (b) was written for a special copy presented to Stephen at his visit to Oxford in April 1136, and that the single dedication to Robert in (a) belongs to a later edition. I do not propose to discuss his argument, which largely rests upon a view, not convincing to me, that the phrasing of the second formula of (b) and (c) is more appropriate to the career of Waleran than to that of Robert; but rather to call attention to a concrete bit of evidence in favour of (a) against (c) as the original dedication. Towards the end of the *History* (Lib. xi, c. 1 of San-Marte's printed text), Geoffrey turns from Arthur's continental wars to his struggle against Modred, with a formula which in *B.M. Cotton MS. Titus, C xvii* runs, "De hoc quidem, consul auguste, Gaufridus Monumetensis tacebit."

This is, I think, the only reference in the *History* to the dedicatee, after the dedication itself. The *B.M. MS.* has the (a) dedication, but when I turned to *Bodl. MS. 514* and *Bodl. MS. Add. A. G.*, both of which have the (c) dedication, I found the reference in xi. 1 unchanged. And by the kindness of Mr. B. F. C. Atkinson, I learn that this is also so in the two (c) MSS. in the Cambridge University Library (li. i. 14 and li. iv. 4). Some of these MSS. have variants of "Nec" for "De" and "tacebat" for "tacebit," but the "consul auguste" is in them all. I can only regard this as an indication that Geoffrey originally addressed a single dedicatee, and that, when he altered the dedication, he omitted to make a corresponding alteration in xi. 1.

May I add a word upon the possible date of (a)? In it England is said to look to Robert as an "alterum Henricum," and this compliment is transferred to Stephen in (b). It is singularly inappropriate here, since Stephen had for rival a real "alterum Henricum." It would have been hardly less inappropriate for Robert, at any date between the birth of Henry of Anjou on 5 March 1133 and the death of Henry I on 1 December 1135, or after June 1138, when Robert espoused the cause of Henry of Anjou. As far as I can see, it would only have been really appropriate at that moment just after the old King's death when, as we learn from the *Gesta Stephani* (ed. Howlett, iii. 10), Robert's friends urged him to claim the crown for himself—

Qui, cum de regni susceptione, patre defuncto, ut fama erat, admoneretur, saniori præventus consilio nullatenus adquevit; dicens æquius esse filio sororis suæ, cui iustius competebat, regnum cedere, quam præsumptive sibi usurpare.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

DUNS SCOTUS AND "PIERS PLOWMAN"

It has not, I think, been noticed that the vision of the tree in *Piers Plowman*, B., xvi. is an imitation of the famous simile of the tree in Duns Scotus, *De Rerum Principio*, Art. iv. § 3.* Here the world

* Ed. Garcia, *Ad Aquas Claras*, 1910, pp. 171-2; cp. C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob, *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, 1926, p. 247.

is compared to a tree, growing from the root and ground of primary matter, the leaves being the accidents, the flower the rational soul, and the fruit the angelic nature. The ruler of the ground is God. The trunk consists of two main branches, the corporal and spiritual; the latter is divided into the nine orders of angels. At the beginning of the world, a gust of the wind of pride dried up a part of the branches.

The tree in *Piers Plowman* represents the human side of creation. It grows in the garden called Heart, the root is of Mercy, the trunk of Pity, the leaves are Leal Words, the blossoms Buxom Speech, and the fruit is Charity. It is assailed by the winds of the World and the Flesh, and shaken by the Devil; but it is protected by three piles, representing the power of the Father, the passion of Christ, and the grace of the Holy Spirit. The ruler of the garden is Piers Plowman, who has already (in B. xv. 194, 206) been identified with Christ; but the ground is farmed out to *Liberum Arbitrium*, who appears here for the first and only time. Against the blasts of wind Piers uses the first two piles, but against the devil *Liberum Arbitrium* uses the third himself. This recalls a characteristic part of the teaching of Duns Scotus, who differed from Thomas Aquinas in maintaining the primacy of the will above the intellect.* Man's free will is circumscribed only by the divine will; hence, when Christ has applied his passion to the defence of man, *Liberum Arbitrium* is left in control, with the help of the Holy Spirit.

The strange passage which follows, xvi. 103, etc., stating that Piers Plowman taught the child Jesus the art of healing, may be explained by the teaching of Duns. According to him the human soul of Christ, though having from the beginning knowledge of all general ideas, gained by degrees, through the contemplation of the Logos (here represented by Piers) knowledge of separate facts.†

I hope later to discuss this influence with respect to the authorship of the B and C versions.

MABEL DAY.

* See K. Werner, *Johannes Duns Scotus*, Vienna, 1881, p. 306; R. Seeberg, *Die Theologie des Johannes Duns Scotus*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 89.

† Seeberg, pp. 261-4.

A "RECOVERED" ELIZABETHAN BALLAD

THE Elizabethan ballad of "In Crete when Dædalus first began" is often referred to but has hitherto been unknown. It was evidently written early in Elizabeth's reign, since its first line is the tune of a poem in Thomas Howell's *Newe Sonets, and pretie Pamphlets*, sig. F4 (*Poems*, ed. A. B. Grosart, 1879, p. 51), the date of which is about 1568. It is frequently cited as the tune of other ballads (including the ballad-issue of Sir Edward Dyer's "My mind to me a kingdom is"), and is mentioned in "Simon Smell-knave's" *Fearful and Lamentable Effects of Two Dangerous Comets*, 1591, sig. B^v, in Thomas Nashe's *Have With You to Saffron Walden*, 1596 (*Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, III. 67), and in *The Return from Parnassus*, ca. 1598, I. i. More interesting still are the references to it in Beaumont and Fletcher. In *Monsieur Thomas*, III. iii, the fiddler says that he can sing, among various other ballads, "In Crete when Dedimus first began"; and shortly afterward Monsieur Thomas sings the last two lines of its first stanza,

The love of Greece, and it tickled him so,
That he devised a way to go.

Again, in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, I. iii, Merrythought sings, rather inexactly, the last two lines of its second stanza,

When earth and seas from me are reft,
The skies aloft for me are left.

The first two stanzas and the music were found by Mr. F. Sidgwick in Harleian MS. 7578, fol. 103, and printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1906, pp. 179-181. Mr. Sidgwick remarked: "The ballad, I confess, gives little promise of being a good one, if it ever be recovered entirely." I have recently come upon two versions of the ballad—one complete in nine, the other incomplete in four, stanzas—and though it may not be "a good one," it has a surprising courtly ending that suggests an author more of the type of Thomas Howell, rather than a common ballad-writer. In any case, the associations of the ballad perhaps warrant its reproduction here.

The complete version, which I reprint exactly, is preserved in Rawlinson MS. Poet. 112, fols. 18-17^v, reversed; it is in the handwriting of Edmund Sheafe—whose translation of the Psalms and whose personal papers are also included in the MS.—dating about 1592. The incomplete version occurs in Tanner MS. 306,

fol. 186; I have pointed out in footnotes the variations which it presents in actual wording but not in mere spelling.

JN CREET WHEN DEDALUS ¹

In Crete when Dedalus first ¹ began,
His long exile & state to wayle ²
Though Minos wrath had shutt vp than
Each waye by land & eake by sayle ³
The love of Greece it pricked ⁴ him soe,
That he devised a waye to goe.

His tender sonne younge ¹ Jcarus
The fathers care & only ioye,
Bedewed wth teares he comforteth ⁵ thus,
Be of good chere my prety boye,
Though land & seaes ⁶ from vs be ⁷ reft,
The skies a loft for vs are left.

Well strooke ⁸ in yeres this banisht ⁹ man,
To alter natures course begonne ¹⁰
By skilfull arte he framed than,
Winges for him self and for his sonne:
And when this straunge device was wrought
his little sonne to fly he taught.

This child by practise waxed bold,
To mounte ¹¹ aloft & downe agayne.
The woofull father then him told
When y^e we ¹² flye, flye nigh ¹³ my trayne.
ffly in y^e midst myne ¹⁴ owne, swete boye
Lest sonne & sea shall ¹⁵ vs anoye.¹⁶

Thus Dedalus this seely old man
Did warne his sonne & kissed him oft
And then to fly they both began,
But Jcarus gan fly alooft,
The sonne when he did mount soe hye,
His waxen wings began to frye.

And downe he falles and cryes in wayne,
Oh father helpe, J fall J fall
The poore old man with mickle payne
Lookt back, amased at his call:
But when his death he did espye
Oh lord, howe then he gan to crye.

With werye wings the hill he hent,
That next appeared in his sight,
The water Nymphes did so lament
To see him in that heavy plight,
That Neptune rose out of y^e seaes
Their chricking [*sic*] outcryes to appease.

¹ Not in the Tanner MS.

² land eche way by sea.

³ waye.

⁴ yet prickt.

⁵ comfortes.

⁶ whear land and sea.

⁷ are.

⁸ Striken.

⁹ banished.

¹⁰ beganne.

¹¹ vant.

¹² youe.

¹³ nere.

¹⁴ midst my.

¹⁵ ore sea do.

¹⁶ Tanner MS. ends.

[Fol. 17^r]

Madame would J were Dedalus,
 A fethered foule learned to flye,
 And you like wise were Jcarus,
 But wiser yet to followe mee
 A tyme y^e shore we should espye
 ffrom Jealus eyes awaye to flye.

Where wee would worke our ioyes at will
 With dangers driven to shorten nowe,
 Where our desyres should haue their fill
 At large, & sure J make a vowe
 That you from mee should never slipp,
 Madame yo^r winges then would J clipp.

HYDER E. ROLLINS.

NATHAN FIELD AND THE BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER FOLIO OF 1679

SIR EDMUND CHAMBERS observes that the earliest instance of the confusion between Nathan and Nathaniel as the Christian name of the actor Field occurs in the lists of performers added in the second folio collection of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays, while others have argued that these lists, prepared presumably by one of Field's fellow-actors, prove that he was known by either name indifferently and must therefore be held to be identical with the stationer. It may, then, be worth while examining the evidence of the 1679 folio a little closer.

Field's name occurs in the lists to six plays, thus :

<i>The Mad Lover</i>	..	..	Nathanael Feild
<i>The Loyal Subject</i>	..	..	Nathanael Feild
<i>The Queen of Corinth</i>	..	..	Nathan Feild
<i>The Knight of Malta</i>	..	..	Nathan Field
<i>The Coxcomb</i>	..	..	Nathan Field
<i>The Honest Man's Fortune</i>	..	..	Nathan Field

Now the text of the 1679 folio is divided into two portions, with separate signatures and pagination, the first ending with *The Prophetess* (and including *The Mad Lover* and *The Loyal Subject*), the second beginning with *The Queen of Corinth* (and including the other plays mentioned above), and these two portions, if not (as is probable) the work of different printing houses, were certainly set up by different compositors or groups of compositors. This is evident from a number of typographical peculiarities, but is particularly obvious from the actor-lists themselves, which are always printed with brackets in the first portion and without them in the

second. Thus we see that the two forms Nathan and Nathanael coincide with the two portions of the volume, and there is an initial probability that the authority for them does not go back beyond the printing house. This suspicion becomes something more when we probe yet further into the evidence.

That the actor-lists for the two portions of the volume were not prepared by different hands is both probable on general grounds and proved by certain peculiarities of spelling. The most striking of these is the preference of the scribe or editor who supplied these lists for the obsolete spelling *feild*. This is seen best in the name of Robert Benfield. We watch the first printer begin by carefully preserving the spelling "Benfeild" in four instances; then he realises that there is no special virtue in it, and in the remaining seven instances he prints the normal form. The second printer adopts the normal spelling at the start and gives it six times, but twice he betrays the peculiarity of his copy by printing "Benfeild." Much the same may be observed as regards Field's own name in the list given above. Again, it would seem that the scribe spelled the name Pollard with a single *l*. The first printer has "Polard" on the first two occasions and once later, but he also has the normal form twice. The second printer gives "Polard" on the only three occasions on which he has the name.

Now, there is a striking difference in these lists between the two parts of the volume. In the second the Christian names are frequently abbreviated ("Nich., Tho., Rich., Rob., Will."), in the first never. It is, of course, inconceivable that the scribe should have happened to write in full all the names that were to be printed by one printer and abbreviated many of the names to be printed by the other printer; the divergence must have originated in the printing house. And, given the habits of scribes and printers respectively, there can be no question that the tendency would be towards expansion and not abbreviation; thus we may suppose that in the work of the second printer we have the names (in this respect) much as the scribe wrote them. If once this is granted there seems little doubt that the scribe wrote Field's name throughout as Nathan, and that the first printer, mistaking this for an abbreviation, expanded it into the more familiar Nathaniel. Thus what the 1679 folio gives us is, properly speaking, not even a confusion of persons, but a mere compositor's blunder.

W. W. GREG.

SHAKESPEARE'S "ABRIDGEMENT" IN THE LIGHT
OF THEATRICAL HISTORY

IN *Hamlet*, II. ii, as the players enter, Hamlet says, "look, where my abridgement comes." In *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. i, Theseus asks :

"Say, what abridgement have you for this evening?
What maske, what musicke?"

This word "abridgement" has always been a puzzle, it has vaguely been felt to have a theatrical significance, to mean some kind of play. We can, I think, throw light on this from French theatrical practice. The most important document we possess for the history of the early European theatre was published only recently. It is the producer's prompt book for the great Passion Play at Mons in 1501, discovered by Prof. Gustave Cohen and published by him under the title of *Le livre du régisseur pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons en 1501*, Strasbourg, Faculté des Lettres, 1925. It is almost an orchestral score; it occupies 500 pages double column of close print in its modern form; it gives the full constitution of the play, the names of the players, their parts, their professions, their entrances and exits, their positions, their actions, their first and last lines, describes the scenery, the musical accompaniment, and the secrets of the machinery and stage effects, including the Deluge for Noah, and a moving star for the Nativity. The title of each section of the Mons prompt book is "abregiet" :

Abregiet de la premiere Journee, communement dit la mattinee
du premier Jour ou la Creation, etc., etc.

Abregier du premier Jour avant disner.

Après disner nous poursivrons.

Beside the origin of the modern name for matinee performances we have clear technical use of the word "abregiet." Cotgrave's French Dictionary of 1611 helps us further. Under "abregement" we find "an abridgement, abstract, epitome, summary, compendium, short course or discourse." Taking these glosses with the fact that "abstract" is also the Elizabethan technical term for a player's part, cf. *Spanish Tragedy*, IV. i. :

"Here are several abstracts drawn
For each of you to note your parts
And act it,"

I feel that we have good grounds now for the better understanding of the Shakespearian usage. If a word has a technical meaning, Shakespeare is almost sure to incorporate it in his usage.

J. ISAACS.

MOTTEUX AND *THE AMOROUS MISER*

PROF. ALLARDYCE NICOLL has recently called attention in his *History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama* to the problems presented by two farces, *The Amorous Miser: or, the Younger the Wiser* and *Farewel Folly: or, The Younger the Wiser*, dated respectively 1705 and 1707, which have generally been attributed to Pierre Antoine Motteux. The questions to be answered are primarily two. The first is to decide whether the two pieces are related or not. The second is to determine what connection either of the pieces has with the play by Motteux called *Farewel Folly*, which was acted six times at Drury Lane, according to the advertisements in *The Daily Courant*, in January and February 1705. Mr. Nicoll has ignored the second of these questions; the first he has answered with a hesitating "No." Genest on the other hand, following the *Biographia Dramatica*, has identified the acted *Farewel Folly* with the play printed as *The Amorous Miser* and has assumed that the printed *Farewel Folly* is a later revision of *The Amorous Miser*. It is the object of this note to show that all these suggestions are equally impossible.

In the first place, it is certain that the 1707 *Farewel Folly* is a revision of *The Amorous Miser*. A comparison of the two texts can lead, *pace* Mr. Nicoll, to no other conclusion. The central situations are identical, and the Pedro, Frederick, and Diego of *The Amorous Miser* have been reproduced without the least alteration in the Old and Young Holdfast and Smart of *Farewel Folly*. But a collation of the parallel passages is even more irresistible. It will be enough to set Diego's sergeant-majorly exercises in drinking "by numbers" by the side of Smart's. This is the passage in the third act of *The Amorous Miser*:

To the Right and Left joyn your Right Hands to your Pitchers.
Poize your Pitchers. Joyn your Left Hands to your Pitchers. Set down
your Pitchers. As ye were. Lay your Left Hands on your Hats. Draw

forth your Glasses. Hold 'em up. Joyn your Right Hands to your Glasses. Blow your Glasses. Take up your Pitchers. Poize your Pitchers. Carry your Glasses to your Pitchers. Charge. Set down your Pitchers. Hold up your Glasses. Open your Mouths. Carry your Glasses to your Mouths. Fire.

And this is Smart in the third act of *Farewel Folly* :

Wheel to the Right and Left, and draw up in a Rank—Halt—Joyn your Right Hand to your Flask—Poize your Flask—Rest your Flask—Order your Flask—Take your Glasses in your Left Hand—Joyn your Right Hand to your Glass—Advance your Glass Mouth-high—Proffer your Glass to your Mouth—Blow your Glass—Recover your Flask—Poize your Flask—Joyn your Glass to your Flask—Charge—Rest your Flask—Open your little Mouth—Open it wider—Clean one Lip with the other—Joyn Glass and Mouth together—The Queen's Health—Swallow.

In the second place, it is extremely probable that the *Farewel Folly* which was acted at Drury Lane in 1705 is the same as the *Farewel Folly* which was printed in 1707. The latter, the title-page states, was "Acted at the Theatre Royal," and the actors and actresses, whose names appear in the *dramatis personæ*, were all at Drury Lane at the beginning of 1705. There is no record of any later production of *Farewel Folly*, and in the 1706-1707 season about half the cast, including Wilks, Cibber, and Mrs. Oldfield, had been transferred to the Haymarket. *The Amorous Miser* was, almost certainly, not acted at all.

Two advertisements appeared in *The Daily Courant* in February 1705 which raise problems of their own, but do not contradict these conclusions. On the 5th Benjamin Bragg, a publisher, announced :

Tomorrow will be publish'd the last new Comedy entitul'd, The Amorous Miser, or, The Younger the Wiser.

On the 7th an anonymous advertiser retaliated :

The last new Play, call'd, Farewel Folly . . . is in the Press, and will be speedily publish'd. And whereas there is an Advertisement, that on Tuesday, Feb. 6, will be publish'd, the last new Comedy, entitul'd, The Amorous Miser. . . . This is to certifie, that no such Comedy has ever been Acted.

The Amorous Miser was duly published by Bragg. *Farewel Folly*, for some unexplained reason, did not appear until 1707, when it was produced by James Round. It is to be noticed, in the first place, that Bragg does not definitely claim in his advertisement that

The Amorous Miser had been acted, and in the second place, that the anonymous advertiser does not state, as he certainly would have done if it had been possible, that the author of *The Amorous Miser* is not the author of *Farewel Folly*. It is reasonable to infer that the two pieces are by one and the same dramatist. Since *Farewel Folly* is attributed on its title-page to "Mr. Motteux" and *The Amorous Miser*, though printed anonymously, was assigned to Motteux by Giles Jacob as early as 1719, it is highly probable that he was responsible for both the farces.

The indignation in the second of the two advertisements which have been quoted suggests that the publication of *The Amorous Miser* was unauthorised. The fact that the play is without a dedication does not mean anything; it was as unusual to dedicate a farce as it was to omit the dedication in a tragedy or a comedy. But Benjamin Bragg was not a publisher of repute. Prior has sneered at him in the epigram "To a Person who wrote Ill, and spake Worse against Me." Edmund Smith has attacked him, in the notes appended to Johnson's life of John Philips, for pirating *The Splendid Shilling*. Thomas Baker called him, in *The Female Tatler*, a "Pyracing Printer." Finally, the edition of Cibber's *The School-Boy* which was published by Bragg in 1707 is a self-confessed piracy.

I imagine that Motteux had written *The Amorous Miser* some time before 1705 and that it was then refused by Rich or Betterton, or by both. Bragg may have bought the play at this point; or perhaps he obtained a copy in some underhand way. The revised version, which was rechristened *Farewel Folly*, was probably made in the autumn of 1704. This, at least, is suggested by the presumption that the part of Old Holdfast, which was taken by Estcourt, was specially rewritten for that actor; and Estcourt did not come on to the stage until October 1704. It was one of Estcourt's characteristics to entertain "the Audience, with Variety of little Catches and Flights of Humour, that pleas'd all but his Criticks," and the principal difference between Old Holdfast's part and that of Pedro in *The Amorous Miser* is the number of short songs (in the ballad-opera manner, but shorter) which are assigned to the former. Opposite one of these songs of Old Holdfast's there is a note in the margin, "*This Song is Mr. Estcourt's.*"

F. W. BATESON.

ALLAN RAMSAY'S *POEMS* 1720

A SMALL octavo with this date is in the British Museum (1466. b. 43). There is a copy also in the library of Worcester College, Oxford. (I have not compared the two, but they seem to be identical in contents and make-up.) Though the general title-page of this edition is dated 1720, this date is contradicted by the contents, e.g. *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, described as fifth edition, is dated 1722.

This creates a presumption that the edition is a reprint of an earlier edition really belonging to 1720. This presumption can be verified. The library of Worcester College possesses both the reprint (mentioned above) and an earlier edition. The latter belonged to George Clarke, whose initials are on the general title-page. It is bound in calf, and at the end Clarke has had bound up a piece which does not belong. Fortunately, however, the original constitution of the *Poems* is certified by remnants of a blue paper wrapper, visible before the title-page and after *Patie and Roger*.

This, the genuine *Poems* of 1720, is, as we shall see, a composite book, being made up for the most part of separate pieces previously issued. But the general title-page* shows that it is an official, not a fortuitous collection. The constitution of the volume tells the same story. The first section of the text is itself composite (it has two special title-pages); but it is continuously paginated (from 1 to 84), and is therefore a reprint. The rest of the volume consists of distinct pieces, which are separately paginated (the "spurious" edition is paginated continuously throughout). No doubt the author or his bookseller, having decided to issue a collection, made it up as far as he could from stock and reprinted what was not available.

The genuine edition of 1720 seems to be rare. There is no copy in the British Museum or in the National Library of Scotland. The make-up of the Worcester copy is as follows :

(1) *POEMS*. By ALLAN RAMSAY [ornament] *EDINBURGH* : Printed for the AUTHOR at the *Mercury*, opposite to *Niddry's-Wynd*, 1720.

a⁴ : title-page and, pp. iii.-viii., verses *To Mr. Allan Ramsay, on his Poetical Works*, by J. Burchet.

* The general title and the rest of the preliminary (but not pp. 1-84) are from the same setting of type in the two Worcester copies. This perhaps explains why the reprint, though manifestly of later compilation than 1720, purports to be of that year. The bookseller had stock of the preliminary, and used it up.

(2) A—G and G—I in fours, K², pp. [1]–84 (the repetition of G is no doubt accidental).

This section, as the signatures and pagination show, is a reprint. The contents are :

- (i) *The Morning Interview*, pp. [1]–16 (misprinted 15); with a title-page dated 1720.
- (ii) *Edinburgh's Address to the Country*, pp. 17–22.
- (iii) *Written beneath the Historical Print of the Wonderful Preservation of Mr. David Bruce . . .*, pp. 23–24.
- (iv) *Elegy on Maggy Johnston*, pp. 25–28.
- (v) *Elegy on John Cowper*, pp. 29–32.
- (vi) *Elegy on Lucky Wood*, pp. 33–36.
- (vii) *Lucky Spence's last Advice*, pp. 36–40.
- (viii) *Tartana : Or the Plaid*, pp. [41]–64.
- (ix) *Scots Songs*, pp. [65]–84 ; with a title-page dated 1720.

The reprint ends here. The remainder is made up thus :

- (3) *Christ's-Kirk on the Green, in Three Cantos . . .* 1718 : A—B in eights, pp. [1]—[32].
- (4) *The Scriblers Lash'd . . . The Second Edition . . .* 1720 : A⁴B², pp. [1]–12.
- (5) *Content. A Poem . . . The Second Edition . . .* 1719 : A—C in fours, D², pp. [1]–28.
- (6) *Richy and Sandy*, n.d., no title-page : A², pp. 1–4.
- (7) *An Explanation of Richy and Sandy. By Mr. Burchet* : A₃—[A₄], pp. 5–8.
- (8) *To Mr. Allan Ramsay, on his Richy and Sandy. By Mr. Burchet* : An unsigned leaf, pp. 9–10.
- (9) *To Josiah Burchet, Esq. (signed at end A. Ramsay)* : An unsigned leaf, pp. 11–12.
- (10) *Familiar Epistles between W— H— and A— R—*, n.d., no title-page : A—C in fours, pp. 1–24.
- (11) *An Epistle to W— H—*, . . . (signed at end A.R.) : Two unsigned leaves, pp. 25–28.
- (12) *Prologue. Spoke by one of the young Gentlemen, who . . . acted The Orphan, and Cheats of Scapin . . .* n.d., no title-page : An unsigned leaf, pp. 1–2.
- (13) *Bessy Bell and Mary Gray*, n.d., no title-page : An unsigned leaf, pp. 26 and 25 (sic).
- (14) *The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy* (signed at end A.R.) : Two unsigned leaves, pp. 1–4.
- (15) *Patie and Roger*, n.d., no title-page : A⁴B², pp. 1–12.

This collection has no Table of Contents, and there is therefore nothing, *except* the vestiges of wrapper, to certify its integrity after p. 84. The order of the poems is however almost the same as in the "spurious" reprint, so far as the contents of the books are the

same—the reprint contains a number of pieces not in the “genuine” edition.

The British Museum has also (1078. l. 30) an edition called the third and dated 1723. Was there an edition called the second? Or was the first reprint (wrongly dated 1720) afterwards reckoned to be the second edition?

I lately had the good fortune to acquire what seems to be an even earlier state of the collection. This is a calf-bound volume, very shabby, bearing the eighteenth-century bookplate of Sir Archibald Grant of Monymoske (and his name on the first page). There is no general title-page or other preliminary, but the volume is not imperfect; for at beginning and end are to be seen vestiges of blue wrappers, just as in the Worcester copy.

The contents are Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 of the Worcester copy, in the same order. cursory comparison of the two books seems to show that the pieces which they have in common are printed from the same setting of type (the mistake in No. 2 (i), p. 16, is corrected; but the page seems otherwise to be the same setting). It is natural to suppose that the missing pieces, and the general title-page and other preliminaries, were later additions. The identity of order, the constitution of pp. 1–84, and the wrapper, all suggest that this, like the Worcester copy, is a bookseller’s “set.”

Throughout these collections, typographical eccentricities offer bibliographical problems. I may note that No. 11, which occurs in the Worcester copy and in mine, but is lacking in Mr. Wise’s copy of the *Familiar Epistles*, is clearly an afterthought. There is a tail-piece on p. 24, which is equivalent to “Finis.”

Some of the shorter pieces, especially the tiny scraps with no title-pages, are probably rare in their original state. Here is a fine field for collectors and bibliographers.

R. W. CHAPMAN.

Since this note was written Mr. Andrew Gibson has published *New Light on Allan Ramsay* (Edinburgh: William Brown, 18A, George Street; 500 copies, 8vo, at 5s.), Part II. of which is a very important contribution to the bibliography of Ramsay. Mr. Gibson describes (p. 140) his own copy of what he regards as the first collected edition, which, like the Worcester copy and my own, shows traces of its original blue wrapper. Mr. Gibson’s copy, however,

seems to be a later issue than these ; for in it the reprinted and continuously paginated portion runs to p. 111 (including *Christ's Kirk*). Moreover, in Mr. Gibson's copy *Scots Songs* runs to p. 88, including, as pp. 85-88, *The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy* and *Katy's Answer* ; whereas in my copy *Scots Songs* ends p. 84, and *The Young Laird*, etc., is added at the end of the volume in what is presumably its original form, paged 1-4.

R. W. C.

THE HISTORY OF A LATIN COMEDY

PROBABLY no play has had such a long and chequered history as the *Amphitruo* of Plautus ; no play is oftener denounced by the Christian Fathers ; no other play of Plautus was popular in any form in the Middle Ages ; it was publicly performed at the Renaissance ; it was the first play of Plautus to be translated into English ; it had the honour of being adapted by Molière (supplying a word to the French language) and Dryden ; and, finally, was Christianised in a version where Alcmena becomes the Virgin Mary ! Briefly, the details are as follows.

Before Plautus there had been an *Amphitryo* by Sophocles, and *Alcmenas* by Euripides (the Latin version contained a famous storm scene referred to by Plautus in the *Rudens*), Archippus (old comedy), Æschylus of Alexandria, and the burlesque writer Rhinthon. What was Plautus's original, we have not the faintest idea. The popularity of the story among the *φλύακες* of South Italy in the third century B.C. is indicated by vase paintings (e.g. by the *crater* in Scheiber-Anderson, *Atlas of Class. Ant.*, Pl. V., 8—and perhaps 6).

Under the Empire the popularity of Plautus's play is shown by the invectives of Christian writers, e.g. Augustine, "tot locis pingitur, funditur, tunditur, sculpirur, legitur, cantatur, saltatur Juppiter adulteria tanta committens" (*Epp.* 202). Prudentius in the *Peristephanon* (Romanus 226) seems to refer to a contemporary performance, while two passages in Arnobius (4. 35 and 7. 33) in combination prove it for the time of Diocletian.* I know of no other Roman comedy of which the same can be proved (though the

* That the play was Plautus's is indicated by the comparison of the two passages—a point which has been overlooked.

illustrations of the Terence MSS. are thought to go back to actual performances of about this period.)

For the Middle Ages the question becomes more complicated. We know that Vitalis (perhaps of Blois), whose date is quite uncertain,* wrote versions of the *Aulularia* and *Amphitruo* in elegiacs. His *Aulularia* is taken from the fifth-century *Querolus*, and it is only reasonable to suppose that his *Amphitruo* (or *Gēta*) is from a source of about the same time, probably from the same author. Both plots are greatly altered from Plautus, scholastic elements being prominent in both. For the *Amphitruo* we may quote Vitalis's argument :

Græcorum studia nimiumque diuque secutus,
 Amphitryon aberat, et sibi Geta comes.
 Intrat ad Alcmenam ficto Saturnius ore,
 Cui comes Arcas erat : credidit esse virum.
 Geta redit tandem, præmissus ab Amphitryone :
 Arcadis ille dolis se putat esse nihil.
 Se dolet esse nihil, et ab Arcade lusus abibat ;
 Visa refert domino ; vir dolet, arma parat.
 Lætus abit socio Pater Arcade ; quæritur illis
 Mæchus ; abest, gaudent ; lis cadit, ira tepet.

We see that the victorious general becomes a student returning from his studies at Athens, Sosia becomes Geta, his *famulus* ; Mercury is Arcas. In this form the story became very popular in the Middle Ages, and it is from here that Geta and Birria became typical names for the *servus nequam* during the whole period. References to the *Amphitruon* are frequent, and the MSS. numerous† (while the *Aulularia* remained almost unknown) ; there were Italian versions by Brunelleschi (sometimes attributed to Boccaccio) and De Prato, and a French one by Eustache Deschamps (*Getta et Amphitryon*). Gower has a version in the *Confessio Amantis* (2.2459 ff.), but his immediate source is a puzzle. G. C. Macaulay (addenda) refers to Vitalis, but Gower's version is quite different ; Geta, Amphitruo's friend, is the injured husband, while Amphitruo plays the part of Jupiter, imitating Geta's voice. Have we here a simple case of failure of memory ?

Coming to the Renaissance, we find in old editions of Plautus

* The earliest reference quoted by Müllenbach (*Com. Eleg. I.*, Bonn, 1885) is from Gerhohus (d. 1169), but an earlier will be found in a poem printed in Lehmann's *Parodie im M.A.*, p. 72, written about 1100 in N. France. From his versification I should put him after 700 and before 900. In any case 1186, the date given in the *Hist. Lit. de la Fr.*, is wrong.

† Clötta enumerated 37 in 1890.

a supplement to the missing portions which it is interesting to learn was written by Hermolaus Barbarus for actual performance, thus showing the continued popularity of the play (as do the later versions of Dolce and Rotrou).

But what is more interesting to an English reader is by no means so well known—the fact that the *Amphitruo* was the first of Plautus's plays to be translated into English. There is an anonymous translation, *The Birthe of Hercules*, dating from about the middle of the sixteenth century. It has been edited by W. Wallace in the "Chicago Dissertations" (*English Lang. and Lit.*), 1903.* This version does not seem to have attracted any attention, but it is a remarkable coincidence that imitation of the *Amphitruo* (esp. ll. 273 ff.) figures very largely in the contemporary interlude, *Jack Juggler* (1547-53: printed 1562), and the author may have seen this version.

Although Plautus was much praised by the Elizabethans, they do not seem to have imitated him to any considerable extent. Still there are signs of imitation of the *Menæchmi* (and perhaps other plays) in Edwardes' *Damon and Pythias* (before W. W.'s translation—even in MS.), which perhaps suggested the *Comedy of Errors* to Shakespeare.† In any case, the *Amphitruo* and *Menæchmi*, with their "mistaken identity" themes, were the two plays which best suited Elizabethan taste. The *Amphitruo* is again imitated by Heywood in the *Silver Age* (1613); here, as elsewhere, Heywood closely imitates Plautus, sometimes translating whole passages. (An example will be found in Gosse's *Jacobean Poets*, p. 123, which is from *Most.* i. ii.)

Concerning the complications added to Plautus by Molière, and to Molière by Dryden, nothing need be said here, as they are well known. Palmer in his edition points out how Molière failed to worthily re-write the lost scenes, and even the French critics (e.g. Patin and Lejay) admit the superiority of Plautus to Molière.‡ Even this was not the end of additions to the plot, for Kleist is said by Leo to have added two further scenes to Molière.§

But the most startling transformation was still to come. A

* [And by R. W. Bond in the "Malone Society Reprints," 1911. Prof. Bond dates the play not earlier than 1600. Ed. R.E.S.]

† It has been suggested that Shakespeare got the hint of the double confusion of the *Comedy of Errors* from the *Amphitruo*.

‡ The famous joke about the "véritable Amphitryon" is not original, but taken from Rotrou.

§ While the *Amphitruo* of Dryden was long popular in England as adapted by Hawkesworth (Ward, *Eng. Dram. Lit.*, ii. 525, refers to a revival of 1872).

writer in the *Quarterly Review* for 1891 states that a Christianised version was produced by one Burmeister in 1621, under the title of *Mater Virgo*, in which Alcmena actually becomes the Virgin Mary. The same writer quotes the letter from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to Pope (1716) in which she describes an Austrian version she saw in Vienna ; it need not be quoted here, as it is readily accessible in the *Everyman* edition, p. 67.

W. B. SEDGWICK.

THE PLEASURES OF IMAGINATION, 1744

IN *R.E.S.*, i. 3, p. 346, I argued that the first issue of the quarto is probably that in which p. 9 has no footnote. Mr. Williams (*Eighteenth Century Bibliographies*, cf. 24, p. 89) reverses the order of the two issues " chiefly because the footnote did not appear in the later editions of the poem." But is this true ? In the 8vo edition of 1744 it appears, not indeed as a footnote, but as the first of the *Notes on Book the First* which follow the text of that book. It is true that this note is not in the collected edition of 1788 ; but many of the other notes are absent from that edition.

R. W. C.

REVIEWS

Early Tudor Drama. By A. W. REED, M.A., D.Litt.
Pp. xv+246. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd. 10s. 6d.
net.

IN the turbid and constantly swelling stream of books on the history of English literature that bring to the overburdened teacher neither new information nor new points of view, it is a pleasure to be asked to review a volume that provides both in abundance. As to the facts presented and discussed by Dr. Reed, it may be said that only a few were hitherto known, the greater number having been brought to light by Dr. Reed himself. As to the new views, while it is true that some other scholars have seen the importance of Rastell's activity and indeed of all the influences that went out from the household of Cardinal Morton, no one has discussed them with the fullness of knowledge or acuteness of reasoning shown by Dr. Reed.

The chief services of Dr. Reed are: (1) He has given us a masterly survey of the work of the two Rastells, father and son. (2) He has cleared up the confusions and misunderstandings about John Heywood, though he is obliged to leave unsolved certain—perhaps insoluble—questions of authorship. (3) He has relieved future historians of the drama from the necessity of further discussion of the magisterial proclamations of Professor C. W. Wallace concerning William Cornyshe. (4) He has given us delightful pictures of the social and intellectual group centring about Sir Thomas More. In short, he has written a history of early Tudor drama which in its main outlines must be incorporated in every future treatise on the subject.

In some respects I cannot give entire assent to Dr. Reed's conclusions. I heartily admit the interest and importance of *Fulgens and Lucres* and of the plays by the Heywood group of dramatists, but I cannot believe either that Medwall was the first

writer of secular drama in English or that the main line of development toward what we commonly call the Elizabethan drama runs through the Medwall-Heywood group.

As to the first point, one need not overstress the probabilities of secular drama in the Middle Ages derived from folk custom and ritual (cf. Baskervill, "Dramatic Aspects of Mediæval Folk Festivals in England," *Mod. Phil.*, xvii. 19-37); no doubt there was secular drama of this type, but it perhaps remained rudimentary in itself, though constantly contributing motives, situations, and technique to other dramatic genres—possibly even to *Fulgens and Lucres*. Nor need one insist that some of the saints' plays were essentially romantic comedy and tragedy. But, as early as 1275, the fragmentary *Interludium de Clerico et Puella* testifies to the existence of drama either entirely secular or, if transformed into a *miracle de Notre Dame* by the intervention of the Virgin at the end, of drama really secular in origin and theme and only superficially sanctified. The case of *Dax Moraud* (fourteenth century) is more problematical. By origin a dramatized *exemplum*, it is doubtless in form a *miracle de Notre Dame*. But at least we have no reason to assume that the plays of *Eglamour and Degrebelle* and *A Knight Called Florence*, recorded as produced at St. Albans and Bermondsey respectively in 1444, were anything but secular plays, and plays of the same type that we find constituting almost the whole repertory of the professional companies when we first get a clear record of their activities in the reign of Elizabeth. A connecting link in this underground transmission is of course the play of *Troylous and Pandor* produced at Court at Christmas 1515, first noticed by Dr. Brewer in his *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, and ascribed by Professor Wallace, without adequate reason, to William Cornyshe. Professor Baskervill's illuminating article on the whole subject ("Some Evidence for Early Romantic Plays in England," *Mod. Phil.*, xiv. 229 ff.) might have suggested some modification of Dr. Reed's claims for *Fulgens and Lucres*.

As to the second point, interesting as are the plays ascribed to Heywood and his circle, they seem to me to have contributed little or nothing to the development of new forms or technique in the drama. Like most of the early plays that got into print, they are academic productions, which perhaps represent the best of which the age was capable, but which belong beside, but not in, the actual stream of development.

But these objections are perhaps the result of views not very commonly held, and at any rate I do not mean in the least to minimise the interest or importance of Dr. Reed's clarification of an obscure and greatly misunderstood field.

Dr. Reed's sixth chapter contains a lively and amusing account of *The Twelve Merry Jests of the Widow Edyth*. The text of this spirited account of an enterprising *picara* has long been accessible. Dr. Reed's discussion of the authorship and the authenticity of the narrative lights up the circle of Sir Thomas More from a new and interesting angle.

Chapter vii., on the Regulation of the Book Trade before the proclamation of 1538, has been familiar to bibliographers for several years. It well deserves the wider circle of readers which it will gain by inclusion in this volume. It is curious to note, however, that on p. 184 Dr. Reed, who obviously does not accept Miss Albright's interpretation of *Ad imprimendum solum*, explains the meaning of it in precisely the terms for which she had contended: "or as an earlier draft had put it, 'that no man but they shall printe the same for a tyme.'" By an oversight Dr. Reed omits to refer to Miss Albright's second paper on the subject (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1923).

Besides the seven chapters of his principal discussion, Dr. Reed gives us eleven valuable appendices, either furnishing material that could not be included in the text or elaborating special topics. Altogether his book is, and will long remain, absolutely indispensable to the student of the drama in England, and it is a notable demonstration of the fact that the most erudite research and the closest reasoning are not incompatible with a clear and charming mode of presentation.

JOHN M. MANLY.

Om Anglo-Frisiske, Heruliske og Burgundiske Indskrifter med de Ældre Runer fra Nordens tre Riger. By TH. JØRGENSEN. Sønderborg, Denmark (published by the author). 1925-6. 3 hæfte. Pp. 212.

PASTOR JØRGENSEN has attempted to distinguish Anglo-Frisian, Herulian and Burgundian inscriptions among those inscribed in the older runes (*i.e.* those used before c. 800) in the territory of the

three modern Scandinavian kingdoms. The recognised authorities on Norse runes, notably Wimmer and Sophus Bugge, regarded all these as Scandinavian, and they have been followed in this view by most of the later students of runes. Pastor Jørgensen opposes their assumption as being too hasty and sweeping; and there is much to be said for his general position. It is difficult to understand why inscriptions assumed to have been made in Slesvig about A.D. 400 or earlier (e.g. those of Gallehus or Torsbjærg) should also be assumed to be Scandinavian. So far as is known, the south of Jutland before 400 was occupied not by Scandinavians but by Anglo-Frisian tribes. There seems to be no archæological indication that will weigh against the general probability that runic inscriptions cut on Anglo-Frisian territory are Anglo-Frisian, and the forms of the inscriptions in question afford no linguistic criteria. Only one archæological argument has been advanced, and that of very doubtful value. Bugge in the *Inledning to Norges Indskrifter med de Ældre Runer* pointed out that in the Slesvig inscriptions the rune Ψ has the value z or κ (the sound intermediate between Germanic z and modern r), as in the oldest Norse inscriptions; in Old English the value of this rune is x . He believed x to be the original value, and that z or κ was specifically Norse; he concluded, therefore, that the Slesvig inscriptions must be Norse. Others, however, including Wimmer, find more reason to regard z as the original value, and this view accords better with Bugge's own theory of a Gothic origin of runes. If the runic values correspond to the sounds expressed by Wulfila's alphabet, this rune certainly stood for z in its earliest use; and z would also be its natural value in Anglo-Frisian of the third and fourth centuries.

Pastor Jørgensen might have made a strong case against the Scandinavian nationality of the Jutland inscriptions; but when he comes to interpret them in detail, he throws away his advantages and arrives at incredible results. He finds that not only the inscriptions of South Jutland are Anglo-Frisian, but also those of Himlingøje (Sealand), Opedal (east of Bergen in Norway), Eidsvaag (north of Bergen), and Lindholm (Sweden). His versions of these inscriptions are fantastic and wilfully perverse. The famous inscription of Gallehus makes good sense as ordinarily understood, and is linguistically plausible:

Ek Hlewagastiz Holtingaz horna tawiðo
 "I, Hleogiest of Holstein, made the horn."

Pastor Jørgensen prefers to read :

ek hlewa (a)gas tis holtingas horna tawido,

giving as the Anglo-Saxon equivalent *ic Hlæwa, Agas þæs Holtinges horna* (sic) *tawode*, "I, Hlæwe, son of Agas of Holt, made the horns." *Horna* is an impossible accusative plural, and *Hlæwa* (weak masculine) and *tawido* are also quite impossible as contemporary forms. The received interpretation gives a rough alliterative line, such as is commonly found in runic inscriptions; Pastor Jørgensen's version breaks the rhythm, and his interpretation of the runes Ψ and \uparrow as *s* and *p* is unsatisfactory. Even more perverse is his rejection of the established interpretation of the Einang inscription, probably the clearest and, philologically, most satisfactory of all the early Norse inscriptions. Bugge read it as :

dagar þār rūno faihiðo

"I, Dag, fashioned these runes."

Pastor Jørgensen says it is Herulian, and divides the runes thus :

dagas þa s run o fa ihido.

The equivalent Old English, he says, would be *dagað, þa is run o fa gehydo*, "It dawns, when there is a rune in a secret place." This is strange Old English, and altogether a remarkable sentence; not even the seventeenth-century runologists produced greater marvels of ingenuity than this.

Pastor Jørgensen's grounds for assigning his collection of inscriptions to the various nationalities are mainly linguistic, not historical. This is unfortunate, as his philology is hardly a weapon to avail against the work of a scholar like Bugge. It is curious that he has no difficulty in recognising an early Herulian form. What is the source of this uncommon knowledge he does not reveal, nor does he say definitely what are the characteristics which he recognises in Herulian, except he believes it to be more like Old English than Old Norse. The Einang inscription, like many others, is simply classed among Herulian inscriptions because it can be divided into words that look a little like Old English, and yet, as divided, are not either English or Norse. Scientific statement and examination of linguistic criteria are completely absent. There is no interpretation in the whole collection which seems an improvement in any respect on Bugge's work, so that Bugge's general conclusion that all the inscriptions were Norse remains undisturbed. Though it seems

probable that some of Pastor Jørgensen's inscriptions are not Norse, as he holds, he has not succeeded in proving that they are anything else.

E. V. GORDON.

A Milton Handbook. By J. H. HANFORD. London: Bell & Sons. 1927. Pp. vii + 304. 6s. net.

PROFESSOR HANFORD is one of the best Miltonic scholars in America, and has, in his *Handbook*, courageously undertaken a very difficult task. So many questions have been raised in Miltonic scholarship in the last ten years, and so few are as yet at all settled, that the task of summarising the present state of things needed resolution as well as erudition. Professor Hanford has both. His book will be precious to the scholar as a compendium of information about the latest work done; perhaps it will be dangerous to the unaided student, as when for instance Professor Hanford gives us, without criticism or comment, the materials available for Milton's biography. The documents thus simply set down are, naturally, full of inconsistencies, and it is only as a class-book used under the supervision of a very competent teacher that the full value of the *Handbook* will be had without serious drawbacks. Another objection that will come from European scholars is a question of point of view. There is throughout the book a tendency to hero-worship which comes directly from Masson's monumental but often very imaginative work. Professor Hanford, for instance, rejects Professor Liljegren's work on Milton on the ground largely that Milton "could not tell a lie." It has been long recognised that all the other Independents, and Cromwell especially, could. And I cannot agree that the late J. S. Smart's very slight article is at all decisive against Liljegren's very minute study of the evidence tending to prove that Milton did insert the Arcadia Prayer into the *Eikon Basilike*.

But it is sheer ingratitude to cavil at a few sentences in a book so packed with reliable information, and the thanks of all students of Milton will go to Professor Hanford. It is only fair to insist also on the great part which Professor Hanford himself has played in recent Miltonic research: his *Chronology of Milton's Private Studies* is probably the best single piece of work done in this field.

DENIS SAURAT.

Milton's Semitic Studies. By HARRIS FLETCHER. University of Chicago Press. London: Cambridge University Press. 1926. Pp. x+155. 15s. net.

MR. FLETCHER's book is also a very useful book, for the ground it covers. But it makes the reader wish Mr. Fletcher had not been so modest, and had not, after considering Milton's Semitic studies, confined himself, as he says in his sub-title, to "*some manifestations of them in his poetry.*"

The introduction and the chapters dealing with Milton's education are perhaps a little elementary; the book can only appeal to readers who know quite well most of the facts here repeated, and a rapid summary might have been better. But for a few remarks here and there, and a few pages, which we should have liked to see much enlarged, on Semitic studies at Cambridge, the book does not really get to its subject before half the space is covered. Chapter iii. on "The Semitic languages which Milton knew and used" is very important. A clear demonstration that Milton could read and thoroughly understand not only Hebrew, but later dialects, Aramaic (or Chaldee), and Syriac, is given. Proof is brought forward that the statements made by Phillips and Dr. Johnson were fully justified.

"This is most significant," says Mr. Fletcher, "for it opens to him almost every rabbinic, masoretic, or medieval work printed before 1650 or before his blindness."

But the full importance of this is, it seems to me, ignored, and perhaps deliberately, by Mr. Fletcher. Mr. Fletcher's investigations should be decisive on the question as to whether Milton knew and used the Cabbalah or not. Mr. Fletcher leaves the question alone.

In a recent article, Professor H. J. C. Grierson comes to the conclusion that Milton probably knew the Cabbalah, and probably did not use it. Professor Hanford, in his *Milton Handbook*, says that the theory of a cabbalistic element in Milton is "plausible but unproved." Yet in summarising Milton's ideas in the same book Professor Hanford uses the cabbalistic conception of the retraction of God and writes (p. 187): Milton "is equally drawn towards Platonism whether in its original form or as it came to him through the more fanciful interpretation of the Neo-Platonists and the

Cabbalah." It is by no means certain that the Cabbalah is thus related to Platonism ; but this sentence surely implies that Milton knew the Cabbalah.

Professor Grierson says that some of Milton's ideas, which I suggested might have come from the Cabbalah, are found in Henry More. But then Henry More was quite admittedly a Cabbalist. Miss Marjorie Nicolson's work quite definitely proves that Milton and More worked in the same atmosphere, and an atmosphere in which the Cabbalah was an essential element. It is true that in *Paradise Lost* only two lines are definitely cabbalistic ; where God says (VII. 170-171) :

Though I uncircumscrib'd myself retire
And put not forth my goodness, which is free . . .

but the fact remains that, as far as we know, that use of the word *retire* as regards God and creation is only found in cabbalistic writers.

But the question should be looked at in a wider way. The important element is that Milton in his *whole* system, and not only in a few lines or passages, associates pantheistic ideas with the notion of a personal God, and the idea of liberty with that of existence ; thence the conception of creation as a liberation. Now I stated six years ago in the *Revue germanique* and the *Revue des Études juives* that this conglomeration of ideas in the seventeenth century is typically cabbalistic, and so far as I know this position is unassailed. It is not a few expressions in Milton that are in question, but his central notion of the divine nature of liberty and of its ontological importance.

Mr. Fletcher should have taken this wider view of the matter and brought us proof, from the Semitic scholar's point of view. But he avoids the subject altogether. In spite of himself, as it seems, he yet makes a further important contribution to it : in chapter iv. ii. B, he gives what I think is a most excellent interpretation of " the Muse of Milton's song," and, to my mind, satisfactorily demonstrates that the being whom Milton variously addresses as the Spirit, the Muse, Urania, Light, is none other than the *Shekinah*. But now, how can one write of the *Shekinah* without mentioning the Cabbalah and the *Zohar* ? No doubt the *Shekinah* is mentioned elsewhere, but the full-blown theory of this godly power is in the Cabbalah, and no man of Milton's learning, in the seventeenth

century, could think of the *Shekinah* without coming under cabbalistic influence. But Mr. Fletcher contents himself with vague references to "rabbinical writings," mentions the *Targums* and the *Talmud*, and does not go on to the historically unavoidable consequence, the *Zohar*.

Mr. Fletcher has, for the first time, investigated Yosippon, or pseudo-Josephus, from the Miltonist's point of view, with very good results. The tale of Eve's jealousy, which I had found in the *Zohar*, Mr. Fletcher finds in Yosippon, recorded with a strange similarity; so that Milton may well have had it from either book. The imputation of jealousy to God as the motive of his command not to eat of the fruit, is also found in Yosippon. Mr. Fletcher has thus definitely added to our knowledge of Milton's sources.

The prospects opened by this line of study are so rich that we feel a little impatient with Mr. Fletcher for not having gone further afield. But he has given us most valuable information and we have a right to hope that in due time so admirably equipped a scholar may have much more to give us.

DENIS SAURAT.

The Poetical Works of John Gay. Edited by G. C. FABER, M.A.

London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.
1926. Pp. xlvii + 700. 3s. 6d. net; Oxford Poets, 6s. net and
7s. 6d. net.

It was not altogether fortunate for Gay's reputation that the task of gathering his works for inclusion in the *Muses' Library* fell to an editor timidly apologetic for a poet whose "gifts were moderate," who on the strength of Gay's not specially remarkable papers for the *Guardian*, found reason "to regret that he did not write more prose and less verse." Mr. Underhill's edition, not unnaturally, showed the defects which must spring from a want of sympathy; it was by no means as complete as it might have been; and the text of the poems suffered from the innocent assumption that the punctuation and orthography of the original could, without loss or injury, be left lightheartedly to rules devised by modern printers.

Nevertheless, although Mr. Faber considers that, if anything, Bell's edition of 1777 is, as a text, to be preferred to Underhill's, the latter has for over thirty years been accepted as the standard

edition of Gay. It contained an excellent memoir of the poet, useful notes, and it provided the reader with some conspectus of authorities for the text adopted, together with many of the early variants. But, apart from the memoir and notes, little is now left to Underhill on a comparison with the exactness, thoroughness, and completeness of Mr. Faber's admirable edition. His scholarly and arresting introduction contains a brilliant discussion of an editor's responsibility to his eighteenth-century original in the matter of spelling and punctuation. It may be that Mr. Faber, tilting at the errors of modernisation, attributes an exaggerated degree of consistency to Gay and to eighteenth century printers, but, if so, no great harm has been done, for it was needful to protest against the practice of disturbing an author's intention by rules he never contemplated. We all shape our sentences, more or less strictly, to a punctuation we consider appropriate. Gay and his contemporaries did neither more nor less; and Mr. Faber finds no difficulty in illustrating the frequent distortion of Gay's meaning in the modernised texts to which Austin Dobson and Underhill lent their names.

In his own text he has been careful to preserve unaltered, save in cases of necessity, the punctuation of editions published in Gay's lifetime, treating this as a matter of greater importance than spelling, capitalisation, or the use of italics—not that these should be ignored in reprints of eighteenth-century verse. Consistency in these typographical practices is, however, hard to observe, for writers who flourished in the earlier half of the eighteenth century lived through a period during which the custom of authors and printers alike was undergoing a change in the direction of standards we now recognise as normal.

Mr. Faber's edition of the poems is more complete than any yet published, containing some pieces hitherto unprinted, and it provides a text which, for the first time, may be regarded as critically established. Underhill's use of the early editions was not wholly discerning. For the *Poems on Several Occasions* he followed the quarto of 1720 rather than the text of the 1731 duodecimo, which embodied corrections due to the author himself. His further use of the early editions was not characterised by industrious collation, nor did he record more than a fair sprinkling of variants. In Mr. Faber's edition a full synopsis of bibliographical and textual authority for each poem, or group of poems, is given; and an

attempt has been made to record all verbal, and many other, variants of the early editions. The tasks of collation and proof-reading have been carried through with care. A few oversights or slips may here be noted. In *The Shepherd's Week : Monday*, l. 53, the first edition prints "Lambs," and in *Friday*, l. 67, the first edition and the 1720 quarto print "Gruntings" for the singular in either case in Mr. Faber's text. In *Trivia*, at ii. 309, Mr. Faber omits to note "Pavior" of the first edition for "paver," although he notices the same variant at i. 13. At iii. 17 the first edition prints "Saint"; and in this part of the poem a few further unimportant variants pass unnoted. In *Rural Sports*, i. 16, the line should end with a colon. In *Newgate's Garland*, l. 62, the *Miscellanies*, 1727, reads "has" for "hath"; and Mr. Faber's note on this poem to the effect that stanzas vi. and vii. were omitted in 1727 and 1747 is incorrect. He has been misled by some confusion in his notes; these two stanzas were omitted in the collected editions of Gay. In *A Ballad on Ale* a comma has fallen out at the end of line 26, and the word "the" before "odds" in line 28. In *A Thought on Eternity*, l. 6, Steele's *Miscellanies* reads "And" for "When." Underhill notes this variant, but assigns it to the wrong line. In *Acis and Galatea* the comma at the end of the second line of the first Air, after the word "Strains," should be deleted. As printed by Mr. Faber the sense is destroyed.

Apparently, Mr. Faber casts a doubt on the plate (mentioned by Underhill) illustrative of "The Shepherd's Week" in the quarto edition of the *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1720. This volume should contain an engraving illustrating, curiously enough, ll. 103—110 of "Monday," which were printed for the first time in this edition.

Mr. Faber adds to his introduction a full and admirable discussion of the doubtful or disputed poems, in the course of which he more than once laments his inability to come upon the four-volume edition of the works published by Bell in 1773, and referred to by Underhill. Had Mr. Faber consulted the catalogue of the Dyce Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, he would have found the volumes he wanted. It seems doubtful, indeed, whether Bell ever published a true 1773 edition in four volumes complete. In the Dyce Collection, vols. i. and ii. of the *Poems on Several Occasions*, in a duodecimo trade edition, dated 1767, are mated with vols. iii. and iv. "Printed for John Bell, near Exeter Exchange in the Strand,

and Christopher Etherington, at York," dated 1773 and called *The Miscellaneous Works*. The writer of this notice has a set of the works similarly mated. In *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. xii. 273, a correspondent states that in the large collection of some five hundred Gay editions formed by the late Mr. Ernest L. Gay, and now deposited in the Harvard College Library, the two 1773 volumes are mated with volumes of varying dates. The editor's "Advertisement" in vol. iv., 1773, seems distinctly to imply that only two volumes were his care, as designed to supplement current editions of the works by adding pieces hitherto omitted. Vol. iii. contains the minor plays; and vol. iv., of greater interest and importance, fixed the tradition of the doubtful poems. The contents of the latter volume in no way affect Mr. Faber's arguments and conclusions, but, had he realised that vols. v. and vi. of Jeffery's 1795 edition of the works were only a reissue, with new title-pages, of the two 1773 volumes, he would have been saved some conjecture and doubt.

Although a few omissions and oversights may be noted, these are in nearly every case unimportant, and serve rather to reflect the exacting standard Mr. Faber set before himself. He has not only given us what is now the standard edition of Gay's poems; but in his introductory matter added a valuable and stimulating excursus upon something more than the mere text before him.

HAROLD WILLIAMS.

The Letters of Tobias Smollett, M.D. Collected and Edited by EDWARD S. NOYES. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1926. 8½ in. Pp. 280. 16s. net.

SMOLLETT has recently come in for an unusual share of attention. Last year we noticed Dr. Buck's illuminating *Study in Smollett*; * there has been a popular *Life and Letters* by Lewis Melville; and now Professor Noyes gives us the fullest collection of his letters that has hitherto been published. Further information about him appeared in Mr. Cunningham Graham's biography of Graham of Gartmore, in *Doughty Deeds*. The interest of his letters is chiefly objective and historical. Smollett was not fond of letter-writing,

* Vol. 2 (1926), pp. 360-3.

but wrote with the brevity and directness suited to matters of urgency. There is no charm of personal revelation in these epistles, and the style is rough and unremarkable. But the facts are important, and many of them are new. The conclusions arrived at by Dr. Buck are corroborated and supplemented, and many statements that have long passed current are now corrected.

Professor Noyes has been able to trace seventy-four letters, of two of which the text is still missing, and of four others it remains fragmentary. He gives sixty-eight in full, fifteen of which are printed here for the first time. Many letters published previously were incomplete, and the largest collection amounted to only twenty-eight items. Half the present volume is allotted to textual notes, in which many important points are elucidated, and, what is most valuable of all, a large number of persons mentioned in the correspondence are for the first time identified.

Among the principal additions to our knowledge of Smollett provided by this edition of his letters are the fact that he was on a very friendly footing with his cousins at Bonhill, the family seat, and not at enmity as was supposed; that he was much more heavily embarrassed financially and for a much longer period than has hitherto appeared; that he was not in bad health but surprisingly robust down to the eve of his death; and that he kept in touch, through Dr. Moore, with a number of old friends in Glasgow, many of whom are here identified. It is also put on record that Bute thought of rewarding his services on the *Briton* with a pension, but that Smollett preferred to be independent, and applied for a consulship, "As I am unwilling to eat the Bread of Idleness, and flatter myself that I might still be in some shape Serviceable to my Country." The application was unavailing.

The rightness of Dr. Buck's view that the *Memoirs* of Lady Vane were written by herself, possibly with the aid of Shebbeare, is confirmed, and further information is adduced about the Irishman M'Kercher or Mackercher with whom she had lived, and who has been credited with the authorship. A reasonable explanation is put forward for Smollett's acquaintance with Lady Vane and the insertion of the *Memoirs* in *Peregrine Pickle*. Something is done also to clear up the question of Smollett's rupture with Wilkes. The two men were on polite rather than cordial terms, and drifted very far apart in the eddying current of politics. The friends, in a surprisingly brief space of time, became virulent and abusive foes; but

the provocation came from Wilkes, and was quite enough to incite an ailing and choleric man to reprisals. "Without condoning Smollett's language," says Professor Noyes, "a reader of the *Briton* and the *North Briton* in their proper sequence can see that the mud-throwing was begun by Wilkes."

To sum up, the volume may well claim to have presented Smollett's character in a clearer light. With the novels, with Seccombe's notice in the *D.N.B.*, Dr. Buck's *Study*, and Dr. Arnold Whitridge's *Tobias Smollett*, it will provide all the material required for a thorough-going examination of the man and his work.

ERNEST A. BAKER.

Satirical Poems Published Anonymously By William Mason. With Notes by Horace Walpole. Edited by PAGET TOYNBEE. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1926. Pp. 158. £2 2s. net.

"I CANNOT bring myself to think much of Mason's poetry," wrote Coleridge in 1833, and for the past century, whatever responsible criticism has not entirely ignored Mason, has merely regarded him in order to reaffirm, with greater emphasis, the adverse judgment of Coleridge.

Nevertheless there now appears an *édition de luxe* of Mason's satires, beautifully printed and illustrated, and published by the Clarendon Press at a price which, when we consider the small quantity and low quality of the matter included, certainly makes this work a luxury. Indeed, as we look at the excellently reproduced portraits of Mason, Sir William Chambers, the Earl of Sandwich, Christopher Pinchbeck, Dr. John Shebbeare and Sir Fletcher Norton, and at the large well-printed pages with their broad margins, Dr. Johnson's sneer at the famous edition of Gray's poems rises into memory:

Several of his pieces were published with designs by Mr. Bentley; and, that they might in some form or other make a book, only one side of each leaf was printed.

In this case, however, the printer was not obliged to limit himself to one side of the page, for although these poems by Mason

take little room, they are accompanied by copious notes and explanations written by Horace Walpole, together with the correspondence between Mason and himself relating to these satires. Mr. Toynbee's Preface shows, as we should expect of so devoted an editor of Walpole, that the commentary and notes by the latter, rather than Mason's poems, are the primary cause of this publication. Without the poems, Walpole's notes, he tells us, would "be largely denuded of interest."

Mr. Toynbee discovered the original and hitherto unpublished MS. of Walpole's commentary in the collection of the late Sir Francis Waller, at Woodcote, Warwick. This collection has since been sold, and Walpole's commentary is now in the library of Harvard College. The editor has reprinted the correspondence between Walpole and Mason, which shows that Mason was the anonymous and pseudonymous author of these satires and also reveals the extraordinary precautions taken to preserve the secrecy of their authorship.

There are in all, six short satires here collected: *The Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers*, the *Heroic Postscript to the Public*, *Ode to Mr. Pinchbeck on his newly invented patent Candle Snuffers*, *Epistle to Dr. Shebbeare*, *Ode to Sir Fletcher Norton*, and the *Ode to the Naval Officers of Great Britain*. The *Heroic Epistle* begins with an attack upon Sir William Chambers because of his attempt to introduce the Chinese fashion (or what he believed was the Chinese fashion) into English gardening, and later drifts into denunciation of various politicians. The *Epistle* is also interesting in its allusions to the contemporary English Landscape Garden movement in which Walpole played a considerable part, and the latter's comments make an important addition to Mason's verses.

The remaining satires are entirely political, being attacks upon those who supported George III. and his ministers, as the following extract from Walpole's commentary shows:

Sir William Chambers was a harmless innovator on Taste; but Shebbeare, Sr. John Dalrymple, Macpherson and Dr. Johnson were Assassins pensioned to asperse the Champions & Martyrs of Freedom, & to recommend the chains & massacres prepared for America. Pensioners of Lord Bute & Lord Mansfield, they were debauched from the pay of booksellers, & handed down from the pillory to wage war on the Laws & Common Sense. They were hired by substantial pensions from the service of the indigent House of Stuart to promote the self same Cause for which the Stuarts had been expelled; and were retained to asperse

the memory of King William by the Third Prince of that Family, on which, the youngest branch of the line, King William had bestowed the Crown of Great Britain.

Despite his enthusiasm for the arts, and the charm of his letters, Walpole has left posterity many proofs of his deficiencies in artistic taste, and his pseudo-Gothic Strawberry Hill and *Castle of Otranto* are not more mistaken than his extravagant eulogies of these feeble satires by Mason. Of the *Heroic Epistle* he wrote :

I have read it so very often that I have got it by heart, and as I am now master of all its beauties, I profess I like it infinitely better than I did, and yet I thought I liked it infinitely before ; there is more wit, ten times more delicacy of irony, as much poetry and greater facility than, and as, in the Dunciad.

Dr. Johnson was one of the most distinguished victims of these satires and of Walpole's commentary. Walpole disliked both Johnson's literary style and his politics. He tells us that :

Dr. Johnson, who confounds all Truth, as much as all Taste, endeavours to make Mankind beleive, contrary to their Senses, that few now read the Dispensary. The inimitable compliments in that harmonious Satire to our Heroic Deliverer made the monkish Pedant attempt to obliterate so deathless a Chef d'œuvre ; & his own unequalled Vanity prompted him to flatter himself that his clumsy and tasteless pages of bombast & biography woud persuade the World to beleive him rather than their own eyes & judgment.

No panegyric upon Mason's writings, however, could be too extravagant for Walpole, and so, of the persons pilloried in these satires he says :

Neither their names nor their actions will be to be found in the Temple of Fame, where Mr. Mason's works will be for ever preserved.

In the *Epistle to Dr. Shebbeare*, the heavy Mason attempts the following satiric flight :

Enough of souls, unless we waste a line,
Shebbeare ! to pay a compliment to thine :
Which forg'd, of old, of strong Hibernian brass,
Shines through the Paris plaister of thy face,
And bronzes it, secure from shame, or sense,
To the flat glare of finish'd impudence.
Wretch that from Slander's filth art ever gleaning,
Spite without spirit, malice without meaning :
The same abusive, base, abandon'd thing,
When pilloried or pension'd by a King.
Old as thou art, methinks, 'twere sage advice,
That N(or)th should call thee off from hunting Price.

Some younger bloodhound of his bawling pack
 Might sorer gall his presbyterian back.
 Thy toothless jaws should free thee from the fight ;
 Thou canst but mumble, when thou mean'st to bite.
 Say, then, to give a *requiem* to thy toils,
 What if my muse array'd her in thy spoils,
 And took the field for thee, thro' pure good nature ;
 Courts prais'd by thee, are curs'd beyond her satire.

This was no sublime flight of the satiric muse, but it was enough to make Walpole say :

The twenty lines . . . are equal in strength & beauty to the most admired satirical passages in Dryden or Pope, & have the superior merit of being provoked by the infamy of the Subject, & not by any personal offence. The last line has the energy of a Proverb.

Walpole and Mason were not only political allies ; their horticultural tastes were also akin. Walpole's notes to the *Heroic Epistle* which deal with landscape gardening are some of the most generally interesting in the book, especially as he tries to show that without the English Constitution the English landscape garden could not have existed.

"The English Taste in gardening," he says, "is thus the growth of the English Constitution and must perish with it." And later he adds :

Should Mr. Mason's English Garden survive the Constitution it pictures, as it probably will for many ages, He will be the Second of our great Bards and Patriots, who has left a poem on *Paradise Lost*.

"Scroddles," as Gray called Mason, must have delightedly recognised Walpole as the most discerning literary critic of the age !

OSWALD DOUGHTY.

The Element of Irony in English Literature. By F. McD. C. TURNER. Cambridge University Press. 1926. Pp. viii + 109. 5s. net.

MR. TURNER'S Preface clearly shows the difficulties of selection and of compression which he has experienced in his attempt to include so wide and elusive a subject as "Irony in English Literature" within the narrow limits of a short essay.

An accurate, yet sufficiently comprehensive definition of irony

is not easily made. Mr. Turner attempts a summary definition which at any rate enables him to simplify his discussion of so essentially subtle a quality: "Irony in speech," he says, "is a form of destructive criticism that enforces an immediate judgment upon something by placing it without comment in a position to which it should not aspire."

That is to say, Mr. Turner accepts Dr. Johnson's definition of irony as a literary quality; *i.e.* "a mode of speech in which the meaning is contrary to the words." Mr. Fowler defines this same quality as "mystification" in his recent *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, and adds that the audience to whom it is addressed is "a double audience, consisting of one party that, hearing shall hear and shall not understand, and another party that, when more is meant than meets the ear, is aware both of that more, and of the outsiders' incomprehension." It is therefore to this "inner circle" of the audience that irony is addressed.

This then accounts for the popularity of irony as a literary form amongst the more sophisticated. It frees the critic from making crude denunciations, and pleases the reader who comprehends the irony, by arousing in him a flattering sense of being within "the inner circle"; and so, by virtue of a subtler intelligence or juster standard of values, in more complete intimacy with the writer himself.

Bearing in mind Johnson's definition of irony as "a mode of speech in which the meaning is contrary to the words," we may say that when the actual facts of life place persons in the same relation to one another as words are placed by the ironic writer, we get the irony of fate, which may be of the tragic or comic kind, and when the playwright or novelist places his imaginary characters in this same relation we get dramatic irony.

Such a literary form as irony, then, holds great possibilities for both comedy and tragedy, not only creating them in plot and construction but emphasising them in narration and exposition. Irony, too, may be a potent weapon in argument or invective. It may, like Socratic irony, make assertions while pretending complete ignorance, or like the ordinary irony of argument or invective, it may emphasise one thing by the assertion of its opposite.

It is to irony as a weapon of disputation and denunciation that Mr. Turner devotes most attention, and indeed in disputation he finds the chief stimulus to the use of irony in English literature.

This he calls "prophetic irony," that is, irony "used as Swift, Milton, and Defoe have used it, . . . the instrument of prophetic utterance and the major criticisms of man by men." So the author leads us from the fierce irony of Milton, the instrument of an age of bitterness, created by the political and religious strife of the time, to the restraint and detachment of Meredith's irony which has become the servant of the Comic Spirit. As we follow Mr. Turner in his investigation, we see more clearly the evolution of the ironical method in English literature, as it gradually changes from the heavy, two-handed broadsword dealing knock-down blows, to the light and flexible rapier, more graceful, but none the less deadly in a master's hand.

From time to time Mr. Turner gives us a pointed description that well sums up the qualities of a writer, as for instance when he says of Swift, "there is about him a triumphant insolence that is, somehow, very witty, and he is always so gloriously in the right." In *Jonathan Wild* he rightly finds Fielding's masterpiece in irony, and with it he associates Meredith's *Egoist*. "The only other character in fiction comparable to Jonathan Wild as an instrument of irony is Sir Willoughby Patterne, but he owes it partly to his attendant imps; Jonathan Wild needs no such support."

The pages devoted to a discussion of irony in the novel are disappointingly few, a mere six in all, and consequently so fascinating a subject as the irony of Jane Austen is passed over with the remark that it is "little" irony. There are similar short sections devoted to irony in history (seven pages) and biography (fourteen pages). Mr. Turner's remarks on irony in biography are specially suggestive.

The work as a whole is readable and interesting, but one cannot help wondering whether a breathless scamper of this kind, across so vast a field, repays the effort.

OSWALD DOUGHTY.

The Beginnings of English Literary Periodicals. By
WALTER GRAHAM, Ph.D. New York: Oxford University
Press; London: Milford. 1926. Pp. 91. 11s. 6d. net.

DR. GRAHAM has made an independent and exhaustive study of English periodicals from 1665 to 1715; and he has given us a useful book, which should serve at once as an introduction to the subject

and a stimulus to further investigation of it. The book is divided into four sections: "The Learned Periodical," "The Periodical of Amusement," "Some Critics and Reformers" (*The Moderator* and *The Observer*), and "The Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian." The first two are the most important, as it is in them that Dr. Graham discusses, with a wealth of detail, a large number of periodicals about which little information is readily available.

Dr. Graham's chief theme has been the development of criticism as exhibited in the various types of book-reviews. His method of dealing with each periodical separately, useful in most respects, does not enable us to get a very clear view of the processes involved. An appendix of specimens, characteristic of the more important periodicals, would have been a readier way; it would also have provided us with the material indispensable for an estimate of the value of this form of criticism. Dr. Graham knows this, for he has illustrated his discussion of *The Athenian Mercury* with some specimen questions and answers, with the result that we realise at once the nature and worth of this curious production.

In a work of this kind it is inevitable that there should be some errors. A few are noted below. François de Mézeray obtained his privilege in 1663, not 1633 (p. 3). De Sallo's *Avis* or Advertisement to the *Journal des Savants*, headed *L'Imprimeur au Lecteur*, is here described, possibly by some "telescoping" process, as an "Imprimeur." The translation of this is inaccurate, and it will still be necessary to consult the original in order to arrive at the true meaning. On p. 4 we are told that "Sallo lost his privileges with the thirteenth number (March 29)," and on p. 6 that "After March Sallo constantly quoted" the *Philosophical Transactions*. De Sallo did lose his privilege, irrecoverably, with the thirteenth number (March 30), when the journal was suspended until January of the following year. The Abbé de La Roque was appointed editor in 1675, not 1685 (p. 4). The *Journal des Savants* can hardly be described as "primarily an abstract periodical"; it was from its inception essentially critical, and the reviews found in its pages are for the most part critical analyses rather than "abstracts." In an account of *The Athenian Mercury* Dr. Graham, discussing the articles of agreement between Dunton, Samuel Wesley his brother-in-law, and Richard Sault, says (p. 17), "Sault and Wesley were to be paid ten pounds a week for a regular amount of material." The agreement, which should have been printed in full, states "That

ye said Wesley and Sault shall deliver into the hands of the said Dunton two distinct papers every fryday night, each paper to make half a printed sheet of the Athenian Gazette." As the periodical consisted of a single half-sheet and was issued twice a week, the "regular amount of material" was all the copy that was needed for the weekly supply. The agreement continues, "That ye said Dunton . . . shall pay 10s. sterling for every Number in print after No. 4." From this it is clear that Dunton was very far from being so liberal as Dr. Graham would have us believe. Steele's *Christian Hero* has surely never been described before as "a poem" (p. 65).

There is no bibliography, but there is a full index. Five plates show us what some notable periodicals look like. The proof-reading cannot be commended.

L. F. POWELL.

Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage. By ARTHUR COLBEY SPRAGUE, PH.D. Harvard University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. Pp. xx+300. 18s. net.

THE influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on the later drama is one which, peculiarly enough, has been overlooked by students of the English theatre. The fact that the plays of these collaborators were for a time more popular even than Shakespeare's is well known, but no one has attempted to show the force and the tendencies of this influence. Part of the survey, but only part, has now been undertaken by Dr. Sprague, whose accurate and scholarly volume traces the stage history of the Beaumont and Fletcher dramas and discusses in detail the alterations made in the various adaptations. In general, Dr. Sprague's book is well proportioned, although one may feel tempted to believe that much of the detailed matter concerning dates of production might have been profitably transferred from the first (chronological) portion to the second, where the plays are dealt with separately. Indeed, many of the dates of revivals might well have found their way in tabular form to footnotes or to an appendix. The consequent saving of space would then have allowed the author to devote some attention to an aspect of the subject

which he touches upon only in two paragraphs of the Introduction. In order to gain a full insight into the influence of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays, one must take into account not merely the records of revivals and the adaptations, but the less tangible but more important impress of the style of these writers upon the dramatists of the Restoration. The connections between early seventeenth-century comedy and the comedy of manners have been lightly touched upon in Mr. Bonamy Dobrée's *Restoration Comedy*, but we still await a full and comprehensive treatment of the whole question. In the same way, there is still wanting a survey of the development of that heroic drama which takes its rise ultimately in the tragi-comedies of the first decades of the century, and which, after a series of modifications, ends in *The Indian Emperour* and *Aurung-Zebe*. A companion volume on these subjects from Dr. Sprague's pen would undoubtedly be welcomed.

While Dr. Sprague's work embodies no truly original facts, the research has been well done and the conflicting pieces of evidence are dealt with sanely and surely. The author has no particular axe to grind, and consequently his survey is delightfully free from forced judgments and tortured facts. The analysis of the adaptations is detailed without being unduly tedious, and there is a useful list at the end of "Characteristics of the Altered Versions." From a comparison of this list with similar lists which have been drawn up in connection with Shakespeare's plays on the Restoration stage, one sees that the so-called "mangling" of the older dramatists was in reality an expression of æsthetic feeling. The unity of action, the separation of comedy and tragedy, the Love and Honour motif, the political element—all of these may be traced alike in the adaptations of Shakespeare and in those of Beaumont and Fletcher. The final history of dramatic development in the seventeenth century will not be written until all the adaptations have been similarly analysed, and until full attention has been given to the influence exerted by the earlier upon the later playwrights. Undoubtedly, Dr. Sprague's volume is an important contribution to that final survey.

ALLARDYCE NICOLL.

The Lyfe of Saynt Radegunde. Edited from the copy in Jesus College Library by F. BRITAIN, M.A. Cambridge, at the University Press. 1926. Pp. xxiv+56. 3s. 6d. net.

THIS admirably produced little book contains a verbatim and litteratim reprint of the *Lyfe of Saynt Radegunde* printed by Pynson, of which only two copies are known to exist, together with a useful introduction discussing the heroine and her cult in England, and the sources of the poem. Frankly, the poem itself is no great work of art, but it contains a few not unpicturesque passages, and was well worth reprinting as an example of a type of literature which is somewhat inaccessible to students. As was originally suggested by William Herbert, it seems highly probable that the poem was the work of Henry Bradshaw, whose *Lyfe of Saynt Werburge* it much resembles. Bradshaw died in 1513, and it seems reasonable to place the printing of this book between 1519, the earliest date which can be assigned to the device used in it, and 1527, after which year Pynson printed little; while if the reproduction of the device here given represents its condition accurately, one might guess that it was nearer to the earlier date than to the later. I do not, by the way, understand the editor's statement that the use of this device by the printer, Robert Redman, "caused a fierce dispute between Pynson and his rival." Is there any evidence that Redman used it until after Pynson's death? The few explanatory notes given at the foot of the pages might perhaps have been somewhat amplified, for there are passages which are not altogether clear as they stand; what, for example, are the "myghty wyndes strong and comfortable" that the saint had for dinner (p. 11)? The notes merely give the meaning of unfamiliar words without comment; I think that in certain cases readers will feel that a word or two of further explanation was needed. The text is on the whole very conservative, but "hard" (heard) in p. 21 surely need not have been corrected to "herd." Though original *v* and *u* seems to be kept, the capital letter—presumably but one—standing for U and V seems to be transliterated as either, according to modern usage (thus "Vertuous" and "Use" on p. 41—but Uiuoberga on p. 46). Not having seen Pynson's text, I cannot say for certain that this distinction does not correspond to anything in the original, but if it does the fact is so remarkable that there should certainly have been a note on it.

R. B. McK.

A Grammar of Late Modern English. Part II. Section II.

By H. POUTSMA. Groningen : P. Noordhoff. 1926. Pp. 891.
Fl. 16.50.

EVERY one who is interested in the study of language will feel grateful to Mr. Poutsma for his *Grammar of Late Modern English*, the fifth volume of which was published last year ; it is the fullest and most complete book on the subject that has yet appeared. We must give it the highest praise, and congratulate the author on his conscientious labour as well as on the completion of such a heavy task.

This work is a study of spoken and written English, mainly of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and there is frequent inclusion of Elizabethan, Restoration, and eighteenth-century English, as well as reference to, and illustration from, still earlier periods—to explain a construction or to show certain changes.

The greater part of this volume is devoted to the Verb, and the last third deals with Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions, and Interjections.

At the beginning of the book there is an introductory survey which explains the subject-matter of the succeeding chapters, giving a paragraph, as a rule, to each. In illustration of this we may select as a typical instance Paragraph 10 of the survey, which deals with Aspect, and says :

Slavonic languages have special forms to denote different characters, mostly called *aspects*, of predications : *i.e.* . . . one by which a predication is represented as consisting of a continuous succession of like acts ; one by which a predication is represented as consisting of a succession of like acts indefinitely repeated. . . . In English, as in other Germanic languages, the various aspects are partly implied in the meaning of the predication, partly indicated by words modifying its meaning, partly suggested by the context of the sentence. Thus *to arrive* expresses a momentaneous act, *to stay* one of some measurable duration, *to pant* one of a succession of like acts indefinitely repeated. . . .”

On turning to chapter li. we find the different Aspects explained and illustrated, for example :—

Predications may be distinguished into such as are :—

- (a) momentaneous, *i.e.* covering only one moment. This may be compared to instantaneous exposure in photography, and graphically represented by a dot.

He dipped his pen into the ink.

The news of his cousin Anne's engagement *burst* on Mr. Elliot most unexpectedly (Jane Austen, *Persuasion*).

After the three main Aspects and their subsidiary types have been dealt with, there are five sections explaining and illustrating how the contents of sentences may impart certain aspects to verbs, for instance :

Change . . . of a momentaneous verb assuming a durative aspect through the context, is also common enough. . . .

(a) the momentaneous *to stop* is often, especially in colloquial language, used in practically the same meaning as the indefinitely durative *to stay*.

1. So late as it was, the unwelcome visitor could not stop long. (Mrs. Gaskell, *A Dark Night's Work* (p. 301)).

The chapter concludes with three pages on Aspect of the Participles and of Nouns of Action, *e.g.* :

When placed attributively before a noun, past participles are . . . durative. . . . (ii) There was Jem Rodney, a known poacher. . . . (G. Eliot, *Silas Marner*, p. 312).

It is important to notice that the writer bases his study of language on *meaning* ; for instance, p. 217 has :

A very common and useful expedient to indicate distinct discontinuance of an action or state of the past is afforded by the combination *used to* + infinitive.

" You used to know Johnson the dairyman, William ? "

" Ay, sure, that I did " (Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree*).

And he includes the expression of emotion as well as of thought ; for instance :

Negating may also be suggested by the context ; thus by : (a) . . . (b) sentences opening with an ironical *much*. Much good may it do you ! —Dickens. (p. 678.)

Furthermore, the author does not unscientifically limit himself to inflexional form ; but shows where particles, word-order, and tone are also used to express thought and feeling. Thus Mr. Poutsma has produced a grammar which is all the more valuable because it is a study of sentences which are regarded as the means whereby one human being expresses something to another, and not as a mere string of words to be cut into lengths and sorted into pigeon-holes.

It must not be surmised from the size of the book (891 pages)

and from its fullness of detail that this Grammar is to be set aside for grammarians only; nowadays everybody with a scientific curiosity and catholic taste is interested in the precise meaning of the words and constructions of his own language, in dialectical forms, pronunciation, and particularly in what constitutes good and bad grammar; so that the book will interest, and be of use to, a very wide circle of readers; its value will appear when debatable points of grammar are discussed, for if it does not finally solve a problem, it will, at least, suggest a possible solution. Its very careful attention to exact meaning cannot fail to be of great assistance to those who wish to think clearly, and so to speak and write clearly.

There is no doubt that all those who are concerned with training the minds of students—old and young—and with giving instruction in the exact use of language, that is to say, teachers of grammar, philology, composition, style, and literature, would get much help from this book; it may be studied and enjoyed; it might also be used in libraries as a reference book, for it explains the actual use and meaning of many of our words more completely than any dictionary has yet attempted.

It remains to emphasise the advantage of Mr. Poutsma's complete grammar, expensive though it is, being used in every school—when Transitive and Intransitive Verbs, Time and Tense, Mood and Modality, etc., are being taught, whether in an English Grammar lesson or in the study of French, German, or the Classics, this book would be invaluable to indicate the general lines of thought, and to give fuller detail and illustration to the lesson; and the elucidation of those harassing little problems of grammar that are so gleefully brought to light by any lively and unrepressed class of boys or girls could be sought for in this book by the most active and irrepressible child.

P. GURREY.

Scottish Gaelic Studies, Vol. I. Pt. I. Issued from the Celtic Department of the University of Aberdeen. Edited by JOHN MACDONALD. Oxford University Press. Pp. 112. 9s. per number; annual subscription, 15s. post free.

It is a pleasure to welcome this biennial publication devoted to the study of the Gaelic spoken in Scotland and its literature. It will,

it is hoped, form a centre of concentration for the scientific investigation of that language and literature, and cannot fail to advance the discussion of the many problems of lexicography, place-name study, history and archæology which gather round the subject. The names of the contributors and the quality of the articles in the first number invite our confidence. Mr. F. C. Diack writes on the Gigha ogam stone and the use of "Aber" and "Inver" in Scottish place-names; Professor W. J. Watson prints a bardic poem; Professor T. F. O'Rahilly, an Irish contributor, has some valuable etymological notes; Professor Fraser begins a study of the orthography of the seventeenth-century Fernaig MS.; the editor records a folk tale on the "Hop o' my Thumb" theme; and Mr. G. Milne writes on the river name "Tweed," with useful notes on Ptolemy's geography of Scotland. A number of excellent reviews and brief notes complete the number, altogether a most attractive beginning.

R. FLOWER.

OTHER BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

Chaucer and the Rhetoricians. By Prof. J. M. MANLY. (Warton Lecture on English Poetry, XVII.) Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, E.C. 1s. net.

Professor Manly brings out Chaucer's knowledge and careful study of the formal rhetorical teaching of his time and his gradual emancipation from the artificiality of that system. This lecture, which aroused much interest at the time of its delivery in June last, should be read by all students of Chaucer.

The Bacchic Element in Shakespeare's Plays. By ÉMILE LEGOUIS. (The Annual Shakespeare Lecture, 1926.) Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, E.C. 1s. net.

A study of Shakespeare's drinking-scenes and his general attitude to intemperance.

Tradition and Reaction in Modern Poetry. By LAURENCE BINYON, LL.D. (The English Association, Pamphlet No. 63.) 2s. net [from the Oxford University Press, E.C.]. Obtainable by members of the English Association from the Secretary at 1s., postage extra.

On some modern tendencies in metrical structure, especially "free verse," regarded as an attempt to break away from verse-forms which by much use had become tiresome.

SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

BY H. WINIFRED HUSBANDS

ANGLIA, Vol. LI. (Neue Folge, Vol. XXXIX.), January 1927—

Walter Savage Landor (concluded) (Helene Richter), pp. 1-30.

Das Zentralproblem der Shakespeare-Sonette (Wilhelm Marschall), pp. 31-38.

Did Shakespeare revise *Romeo and Juliet*? (B. A. P. van Dam), pp. 39-62.

The Rôle of Confidant(e) in the Renaissance Epic (Louis Wann), pp. 63-74.

Bemerkungen zum N.E.D. (Otto B. Schlutter), pp. 75-76.

Steven; hop; †Raspis; Hurt; †Custil(e); †forgetfulness.

Plural Forms in Lowland Scottish (Elisabeth Westergaard), pp. 77-80.

CORNHILL MAGAZINE, February 1927—

A Girl's Friendship with John Ruskin (Jessie Leete: edited by Leonard Huxley), pp. 232-54.

Concluded, March, pp. 371-82.

—March—

The Author of *The Story of Elizabeth*: Anne Thackeray Ritchie (Ethel Earl), pp. 280-88.

R. L. S. at Pitlochry (Rosaline Masson), pp. 343-50.

—April—

Ecclesiastes and the Poetry of Disillusionment (Orlo Williams), pp. 446-61.

Newman and the Novelists (Henry Tristram), pp. 495-509.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN, Vol. 61, May 1927—

Eine deutsche Anregung zu Drydens "Alexander's Feast"? (Franz Harder), pp. 177-82.

The Influence of Keats upon Rossetti (Hill Shine), pp. 183-210.

On some Marginalia made by Dante G. Rossetti in a Copy of Keats' Poems (George Milner), pp. 211-19.

Die Literatur des Britischen Kolonialreichs (Gösta Langenfelt), pp. 220-80.

ENGLISH STUDIES, Vol. IX., April 1927—

Contributions to English Syntax : Retained Accusatives in Passive Sentences (E. Kruisinga), pp. 38-40.

HISTORY, Vol. XII., April 1927—

Everyday Life in some Medieval Records (Hilda Johnstone), pp. 1-12.

JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXVI., January 1927—

Lessing and the "Corrective Virtue in Comedy" (Edward V. Brewer), pp. 1-23.

Influence of Shaftesbury and other English writers.

The Horoscope in Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale* (Joseph T. Curtiss), pp. 24-32.

Posting Henslowe's Accounts (T. W. Baldwin), pp. 42-90.

Feminine Rimes in the *Faerie Queene* (Floyd Stovall), pp. 91-95.

LIBRARY, Vol. VII., March 1927—

Some Notes on the Stationers' Registers (W. W. Greg), pp. 376-86.
On methods of entry.

Caxton on the Continent (W. J. Blyth Crotch), pp. 387-401.

LONDON MERCURY, Vol. XV., February 1927—

Sheridan : A Study in Theatrical Bibliography (R. Crompton Rhodes), pp. 381-90.

—March 1927—

Cowper's Spiritual Diary (Kenneth Povey), pp. 493-96.

Fragmentary entries written in 1795 in blank leaves of a copy of the *Odyssey*. Errata, April, p. 640.

Bibliographies of Modern Authors (Gwendolen Murphy), pp. 526-31.
Walter de la Mare. Concluded, April, pp. 635-39.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, Vol. XLII., February 1927—

Sidney, Galaut, La Calprenède : An Early Instance of the Influence of English Literature upon French (H. C. Lancaster), pp. 71-77.

Italian Borrowings in Sidney (C. W. Lemmi), pp. 77-79.

In *Arcadia* I. and the Sonnet to the Moon.

Some Stage-Directions in *All's Well that Ends Well* (A. E. Case), pp. 79-83.

Milton and Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1657) (H. Fletcher), pp. 84-87.

Evidence of Milton's knowledge of Walton's Bible.

Shakespeare misquoted (H. T. Baker), pp. 87-94.
By Hazlitt.

The Authorship of Acts III. and IV. of *The Queen of Corinth* (F. L. Fenton), pp. 94-96.

Evidence against Field.

SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE 379

- The Meaning of the Word "Dade" (J. T. Curtiss), pp. 100-02.
 Reference to Dade's Almanack.
 On the Body and Soul Legend (T. E. Allison), pp. 102-06.
 Irving's Version of Byron's *The Isles of Greece* (E. H. Hespelt), p. 111.
 The Heaven of Virgins (Elizabeth Hart), pp. 113-16.
 With reference to *The Pearl*.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, Vol. XLII., March—

- A Queen at Chesse (H. E. Scudder), pp. 141-45.
 Queen Elizabeth and Sir Charles Blount; Scott's indebtedness to Naunton.
 Denis Saurat on Milton's Color Vision (S. A. Nock), pp. 146-50.
 The Comedy *Lingua* and the *Faerie Queene* (M. P. Tilley), pp. 150-57.
 A New Poe Poem (I. T. Richards), pp. 158-62.
 Authorship of poem in *The Yankee*, 26.2.1828.
Le Dissipateur and *Timon of Athens* (Margaret Gilman), pp. 162-65.
 Goldsmith's Supposed Attack on Fielding (Katharine C. Balderston),
 pp. 165-68.
Citizen of the World, Letter LXXXIII.
 Goldsmith and Johnson on Biography (J. E. Brown), pp. 168-71.
 The Influence of E. A. Poe on Judith Gautier (W. L. Schwartz),
 pp. 171-73.
 The Burning of Heorot: an Illustrative Note (F. P. Magoun, Jr.),
 pp. 173-74.
 Parallels from Bede.
 Aaron Hill and Thomson's *Sophonisba* (A. E. Case), pp. 175-76.

—April—

- The Influence of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* on early Mythological
 Poems (D. Bush), pp. 211-17.
Das Schloss in Österreich (A. Taylor), pp. 222-28.
 Relation of French, German and Scottish ballads.
 An Examination of Professor Cowling's New Metrical Test (Julia
 E. Lineberger), pp. 229-31.
 See *R.E.S.*, July 1926.
 Another Smollett Letter (E. S. Noyes), pp. 231-35.
 Of August 1762; printed in *The New Scots Magazine*, 1829.
 A Note on the Sleep-walking Scene (G. R. Stewart, Jr.), pp. 235-37.
 A Note on *Brunanburh* (Kemp Malone), pp. 238-39.
 Origin and correct form of the name.
 A Note on Bacon's Influence (E. L. Freeman), pp. 239-40.
 Decline about 1700.
 Two Lexical Notes (O. F. Emerson), pp. 244-46.
Lake, "pit, grave"; *Berm*—the new meaning.
 Parrot and Pajarote (E. K. Kane), pp. 246-48.
 Derivation of word.

MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW, Vol. XXII., April 1927—

The Ending “-ster” (Otto Jespersen), pp. 129-36.

Henry Crabb Robinson's *Essay on Blake* (Herbert G. Wright), pp. 137-54.

“The Debate of the Soul and the Body” in MS. Digby 86 (Beatrice Allen), p. 189.

The Sources of Spenser's *Amoretti* (Janet G. Scott), pp. 189-95.

Jane Eyre's “Iron Shroud” (J. M. S. Tompkins), pp. 195-97.

A Second Visit to Gondialand (Madeleine Hope Dodds), pp. 197-98.

On Emily Brontë's poems.

MODERN PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXIV., February 1927—

Chaucer's Lady of the Daisies? (J. M. Manly), pp. 257-59.

Against identification with Alice de Cestre.

Juggling Tricks and Conjury on the English Stage before 1642 (Louis B. Wright), pp. 269-84.

Notes on the Bibliography of Pope (Arthur E. Case), pp. 297-313.

The Bridgewater Manuscript of *Comus* (David H. Stevens), pp. 315-20.

Miltoniana (1679-1741) (C. A. Moore), pp. 321-39.

Unnoted examples of Milton's influence.

James Wilson Bright, 1852-1926 (G. P. Krapp), pp. 351-52.

MONTHLY CRITERION, May 1927—

The Mystery of the *Hamlet* First Quarto (W. J. Lawrence), pp. 191-201.

Further theory as to origin.

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, March 1927—

William Blake and Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Contrast in Theories of Art (Herbert Wright), pp. 417-31.

Note by D. H. Banner, April, p. 620.

—April 1927—

Murray's Mysterious Contributor: Unpublished Letters of Sir Walter Scott (Davidson Cook), pp. 605-13.

Marcel Proust as Critic and Disciple of Ruskin (J. Murray), pp. 614-619.

NOTES AND QUERIES, Vol. 152, February 5, 1927.—

Methods of Divination with specific English Names (Theodore Besterman), pp. 94-98.

Note by G. S. G., March 12, p. 195.

Anthony Munday, Dramatist (Bertram Lloyd), p. 98.

Entries in City of London Repertory Books.

Textual Notes on Shakespeare: *Cymbeline* (F. H. Underwood), p. 104.

On III. iv. 51-2.

SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE 381

NOTES AND QUERIES, Vol. 152, February 12—

A Sonnet by Coleridge (G. W. Wright), pp. 115-16.

In Cottle's *Selection of Poems*.

—February 26—

Damon and Pithias and *The Tempest* (Theodore Stenberg), p. 153.

—March 12—

Textual Notes on Shakespeare (Henry Cuninghame), pp. 184-85.

Tempest I. i. 68; I. ii. 53; I. ii. 327; II. i. 150-6; II. ii. 176. Also on III. i. 1-15, 59-63; IV. i. 29-31, April 9, pp. 256-57; *Winter's Tale*, I. ii. 458-60; II. i. 141-3; IV. iv. 118, April 23, pp. 292-4.

—March 19—

"Tentable," Adjective (F. Williamson), p. 207.

Example of use in 1780.

—March 26—

Anthony Stafford (G. C. Moore Smith), pp. 219-21.

Concluded April 2, pp. 239-43.

"Ruttier" in the *English Dialect Dictionary* (L. R. M. Strachan), p. 224.

—April 2—

Lines written by Walter Scott when a child (E. H. Fairbrother),

p. 243.

From letter in Record Office.

—April 9—

Brambridge (or Bambridge) (R. C. Baigent), pp. 255-6.

On origin and form of name.

The Place-Names Medmenham and Medmenny (A. Anscombe), pp. 257-59.

Reply by Hugh R. Watkin, April 23, pp. 298-9.

Two Sixteenth-Century Words (Ethelbert Horne and M.), p. 265.

Creeper and *Petuaney*: unrecorded meanings.

—April 23—

Rainsford Associations with Shakespeare, Southampton and Hall (Alfred Ransford), pp. 291-2.

Continued April 30, pp. 311-13.

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY, Vol. VI., April 1927—

Carlyle, and Goethe's *Symbolum* (Kuno Francke), pp. 97-101.

Beddoes and Continental Romanticists (Frederick E. Pierce), pp. 123-32.

Electricity, the Spirit of the Earth, in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* (Carl H. Grabo), pp. 133-50.

- The Revision of the Folio Text of *The Taming of the Shrew* (Florence H. Ashton), pp. 151-60.
 English Literature of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century: A current Bibliography (Ronald S. Crane), pp. 161-200.
 Milton's Essential Relationship to Puritanism and Stoicism (Martin A. Larson), pp. 201-20.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
 Vol. XLII., March 1927—

- Cicero on Parnassus (Charles S. Baldwin), pp. 106-12.
 Note on Chaucer's *Franklin's Prologue*.
 The Meter of *Piers Plowman* (George R. Stewart, Jr.), pp. 113-28.
 The dipodic theory.
 Drayton's *Sirena* again (Raymond Jenkins), pp. 129-39.
 Miltonic Rhythm; A Study of the Relation of the Full Stops to the Rhythm of *Paradise Lost* (Theodore H. Banks, Jr.), pp. 140-45.
 Henry Vaughan as a Nature Poet (Alexander C. Judson), pp. 146-56.
 New Light on the Evidence for Swift's Marriage (Marguerite Hearsey), pp. 157-61.
 Churchill's Influence on Minor Eighteenth-Century Satirists (Joseph M. Beatty, Jr.), pp. 162-76.
 French Dramatic Sources of Bulwer-Lytton's *Richelieu* (Charles B. Qualia), pp. 177-84.
 The Rules of Common School Grammars (Charles C. Fries), pp. 221-37.
 From 1586 to 1825.
 The Number of Cases in Modern English (Morgan Callaway, Jr.), pp. 238-54.

REVUE ANGLO-AMÉRICAIN, Vol. IV., February 1927—

- La fatalité intérieure dans les romans de Thomas Hardy (J. J. Mayoux), pp. 208-19.
 Quelques notes sur *Love's Labour's Lost* (M. Reynaud), pp. 233-35.
 I. i. 39; V. ii. 704-8; V. ii. 639; V. ii. 906; IV. i. 55; V. i. 87.

—April—

- Le Sentiment de la Nature chez Cowper (V. Taffe), pp. 308-19.
 Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure* (I. ii. 154, *propagation*) (J. Derocquigny), pp. 338-40.
 Oscar Wilde et Barbey d'Aureville (Maximilien Rudwin), p. 340.
 Evidence that Wilde translated *Ce qui ne meurt pas*.

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXIV., January 1927—

- A Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1620-1800 (R. S. Crane and F. B. Kaye), pp. 1-205.

TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, February 3, 1927—

Amaimon (M. R. James), p. 76.

References in 1577 and earlier.

"Fade" in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (C. T. Onions), p. 76.

Reply by Kenneth Sisam, March 17, pp. 193-4.

—February 10—

Milton and Mabuse (C. W. B.), p. 92.

Further letter by Ernest Law, February 24, p. 126; reply by C. W. B., March 3, p. 144.

—February 17—

Modern English Usage (Hibernicus), p. 108.

Suggested additions. Further suggestions by A. A. Milne, February 24, p. 126. Reply by H. W. Fowler, March 3, p. 144; rejoinder by A. A. Milne, March 10, p. 160; by H. W. Fowler, March 17, p. 193.

The Comedy of Errors (Arthur Gray), p. 108.

Sources of proper names.

—February 24—

New Light on Chaucer (Walter Rye), p. 126.

Connection with Lynn.

—March 3—

A Forgotten Salisbury Surgeon (John B. Wainwright and J. Paul de Castro), p. 144.

Further information about Edward Goldwyre.

—March 10—

Sir Walter Raleigh as seen by Sir John Harington (G. C. Moore Smith), p. 160.

Flaxman's Medallion of Dr. Johnson (C. B. Tinker), p. 160.

—March 17—

Katherine Hamlet and "Ophelia" (E. I. Fripp), p. 185.

Note by Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, March 24, p. 215.

A Revels Office Entry (R. C. Bald), p. 193.

With reference to *Cupid's Festival*.

Elizabethan Proverbs (Edgar I. Fripp), p. 194.

Origin of chameleon legend.

—March 24—

Two New Letters of Samuel Daniel (H. Sellers), p. 215.

—March 31—

Crabbe and *Mansfield Park* (E. H. W. Meyerstein), p. 232.

Further letter by R. W. Chapman, April 7, p. 251.

TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, April 7—

Did Dr. Forman commit suicide? (F. L. Lucas), p. 250.

Note on *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, V. ii.

The Owl and the Nightingale (Bruce Dickins), pp. 250, 251.

Notes on lines 943-4, 277 ff., and 816.

The Spiritual Quixote (John Warrick), p. 251.

Suggested by Swift's proposed *Memoirs of Mr. Jephtha Quixote, Saint-Errant?*

The Name Robin Hood (E. G. Withycombe), p. 251.

Early occurrences.

——April 14—

Aberration in Rhyme (H. W. Garrod), p. 265.

Examples from Elizabethan sonnets.

A Note on *Fulgens and Lucre*s (John Purves), p. 265.

Influence of early Italian literature.

——April 21—

Evelyn and Cosin? (Paul Vellacott), p. 280.

Note on *Memoires for my Grand-son*.

Chaucer's Lollus (R. C. Goffin), p. 280.

Further support for identification with Boccaccio.

——April 28—

Sheridan and the *Ode to Scandal* (P. J. Dobell), p. 299.

